S. V. University Sanskrit Department Symposium No. 3

वेदसमीक्षा

VEDA SAMĪKṢĀ



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TIRUPATI

1967

Proceedings of the Seminar on the Vedas
held in February, 1964

Price : Rupees SIX.

Printed at T. T. D. Press, Tirupati.

Preface

The Department of Sanskrit, Sri Venkateswara University, has great pleasure in placing before the scholars the volume of Veda Samīkṣā, containing the papers presented to the Vedic Seminar held under its auspices in February 1964. Teachers and scholars from the Colleges and Universities in the Andhra, Madras, Kerala and Mysore States took part in the Seminar. The chantings of the Vedas by scholars hailing from different parts of South India were tape-recorded during this seminar.

Two papers, *An Accentual problem in Pāṇini and the Veda, Apropos of the word 'hāyana'* by Sri M. D. Balasubrahmanyam and *Women in the Vedic age* by Kumari P. Prabhavati are not included here, because they have already been published elsewhere on account of the inordinate delay in bringing out thus volume due to the circumstances beyond our control.

The success of the Seminar was due to the encouragement given by Sri S. Govindarajulu, the then Vice-Chancellor, and the others in authority. The co-operation extended to us by the Sister Departments of the S. V. University College as well as the affiliated colleges was very helpful in conducting the Seminar.

We are specially grateful to Maharshi Daivarata Sarma of Gokarn, doyen of Vedists, who out of his love for the Vedas and affection towards us undertook the task of conducting the Seminar with unique enthusiasm. We feel very sorry that we could not include in this volume his powerful speech in inimitable Sanskrit. We are equally grateful to the scholars, authorities in their own fields, who participated in the Seminar and made it a success.

We are grateful to the authorities of the T. T. Devasthanams for helping us in several ways. They provided free accommodation for the delegates, made available transport facilities during the Seminar and undertook to print this volume in their press. We are thankful to the T. T. D. Press for its willing co-operation.

I must also personally thank Dr. V. Varadachari, Reader in the Department, who in my absence during 1965—'66 spared no pains to read the proofs and expedite the publication of the volume.

Editor.

A Message

FROM

SRI S. GOVINDARAJULU

IT was a disappointment to me that I could not be present at the Veda Seminar to which I was looking forward for a long time. The *Vedas* have a unique place in our history and religion. Apart from those who regard *Vedas* as revelation, there is an increasing number of people both in our country and abroad who appreciate the *Vedas* for the beauty of poetry, matureness and the loftiness of thought and for propounding what appear to be eternal truths; no man however is competent to certify that anything is eternal, just because he is mortal, if for no other reason. I understand that the Seminar at Tirupati was greatly valued and these printed proceedings therefore will be found useful by a wider circle. The Seminar also tape-recorded Vedic recitations by different scholars. A tape-recorded library of this type must be quickly brought into existence as scholars capable of traditional recitation are rapidly disappearing.

I must in conclusion offer my congratulations to Prof. Sreekrishna Sarma and to all others who laboured with him to make the Seminar a success.

MADRAS

16—7—1964.

(Sd.) S. GOVINDARAJULU

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K. Pampapathi Rao

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Maharshi Daivarata Sarma, Ladies and Gentlemen,

MY role today is a little peculiar. I am actually substituting for Sri K. Chandramouli who, for reasons of his own, could not keep his engage ment to be present here this forenoon to inaugurate this Vedic Seminar. There is very little that a down to earth scientist like me could say on the *Vedas*. But I will have to moderate that statement by saying that there is always something that one born in India could say on the *Vedas* or about the *Vedas* or in relation to the *Vedas*. I see from the programme and from what our Professor of Sanskrit has said in his welcome speech that the Seminar or the *Samīkṣā* is going to be a very scholarly one, perhaps most of the papers being in Sanskrit. But at the same time I also see in the audience, quite a large number of those whom we call the average citizens of this country, who are not so erudite either in Sanskrit or in the *Vedas*. So I thought as I came up here and as I was sitting and looking at the audience that I would do in my own humble way a sort of orientation to the *Vedas* so that the audience would know what is going on.

I was recalling to my mind what the *Vedas* are, what relation they have to the philosophy and the traditions of this country and to what we, the Hindus, call the *Dharma* of the Times. One remarkable feature about the *Vedas*, which of course is reflected in this programme, is their all pervasiveness. Almost anything you want to see in the *Vedas*, you can see. Someone is going to see some Chemistry in the *Vedas*; someone else is going to see some Economics in the *Vedas*; others are going to see other things. And, of course, there is lot of philosophy in the *Vedas*. Now, this is one very characteristic feature of this Indian creation or we may say the Aryan creation. Another remarkable feature of the *Vedas* that comes to my mind is the fact that of all religious books, or philosophical systems, here is a system and a method which is not a revelation to or through a prophet. There is no prophet here. It is a revelation to a succession of seers over a large number of years. Actually, it is estimated that it spread over a period of nearly two and a half millennia *i.e.*, nearly twenty-five centuries span the period that is recognized as the period during which this thought was created, was presented. I think most of the people are agreed that the oldest Hindu thought or scripture, if we may call it so, goes back to about three thousand B.C., roughly five thousand years ago when the Aryans came and settled in the Indo-Gangetic valley. Now, by this measure, we note the origins of the *Ṛgveda* placed about five thousandyears ago. The *Ṛgveda* is the earliest of the *Vedas* and in it the *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* is supposed to be the earliest of Hindu philosophical books. Well, many would say that there is not much philosophy in these earliest works. But any scholar who has looked at these and compared them to the Upaniṣadic teaching—the *Vedānta*—would see that the normal western argument that the *Upaniṣads*

are a departure from the *Veda* is not really true. From then on we see the different portions coming forth–the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas* —in each of the *Vedas*, and each reflecting one level of realization or one level of perception. Later on, *i.e.*, about the first millenium B.C. (around seven hundred B.C.) we see the date set for the *Upaniṣads*. The *Upaniṣad*-are also referred to as the *Vedānta*, the *anta* of the *Veda*, the end of the *Veda*, the quintessence of the *Veda*. Actually, if one looks at the meaning of the word *Upaniṣad*, one discovers that its literal meaning is secret teaching. For some reason, the universality of the *Veda* tended to get constricted by this time and it became more and more specialized and in the *Upaniṣads*, the very word used is already "Secret Teaching." Of course, those who know tell us that here we see man at that time turning his view inwards. At the time of the *Ṛgveda* man looked outward at all the creation of God, and now in the *Upaniṣads* he tends to look inwards and questions the reality of this Universe? Is there a God? If so, is that "Power"? What is that power? Is it in man? And what is man? That is what we see in the *Upaniṣads*. And after the *Upaniṣads* there is a big gap in Hindu religious thinking till we come to the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* actually tries to bridge this gap and one notices here again a sort of resuscitation or recapitulation of the Upaniṣadic teaching in the form of the *Gītā*.

If we look at the *Ṛgveda* and the other *Vedas*, we notice that in the beginning the thoughts of those people tended towards all that was around them. The *Samhitās* and the *mantras* invoke various natural phenomena and the cults. There are invocations to all that man has seen around him in the universe, the most important being, of course, light, wind and fire.

From then on over a period of about three thousand years, this has been a continuous process of describing and questioning. That is why it is seen that when people with a scientific bent of mind look at some of the later *Vedas* they see some science in it. That is because the response of man to his environment has always been a response of questioning as to what it is, how it happened, what it is going to be; and therefore the attitude has been scientific although it was not experimental. That is why, and also because of the long span of time over which this was created, the *Vedas* appear to be virtually all pervading, all comprehending. Now this cannot, of course, last very long because anything that spreads will necessarily meet with people who like to systematize it. And we see that process of systematization of this philosophical thought happening in our history also and the various systems of Hindu philosophy have come up.

The six systems and the various other systems appear—the *Nyāya-Vaiṣeṣika*, *Sāṁkhya* and so on. In this process of systematization, of course, there is a tendency to narrow down. That is, one begins to disbelieve another system and that is the process through which they have passed and that has resulted in the degeneration of Hindu philosophical thinking. It is time that we tend to come out of this and again go back to the *Vedas*. Now I do not like to go back to the *Vedas* in the literal sense of the term, because meanings

always change. As is well known, at that time, the *Veda*, or the *Upaniṣad* was handed down by word of mouth and it was through hearing that the pupil received the material. There was no writing, nothing being put down. Therefore, it was a traditional handing over. In such a system, the *śabda* (sound) and *uccārana* (the way it is uttered) become important because the way one utters a sound gives meaning to it. That is why we notice that in all Sanskritic learning (even all the traditional learning) emphasis is laid on the proper *uccāraṇa.* If you don't have proper *uccāraṇa*, you are no good for these studies. You may be a scholar but you cannot understand the meaning. That was the view. It was for this reason that I suggested to the scholars, (including our Professor of Sanskrit) that it is time we record these things on tape because as he has said the traditions are fast disappearing and already because of this long span of time there are differences in *uccāraṇa.* He was telling you, the Godavari version is different from the Kerala version and naturally it will be so because now we have got several languages and each one has its own pronunciation. The tradition is not there and therefore it is tending to be different and I think it is time to preserve these. That much for an average Indian's perspective on the *Veda.* That is how we look at the *Veda.* It has moulded us. It will continue to mould us. It has not only moulded us but it has moulded the whole of South East Asia. And in modern times it has greatly influenced the Western man also.

This is not the place for me to go into the philosophy of it. There are many scholars who would go into that and of course as a scientist I know that many of the scientists of modern times, especially most of the eminent physicists and biologists are coming back, not exactly to the *Veda* but to that which we call the *Vedānta.* The questions that have been posed at that time have been clear. How do we see the Universe? That is what the *Ṛgveda* describes. And then the question is posed " How did it come?." Is there a power behind it? What am I in this? Am I part of it? Thus the Vedic seers have questioned and questioned. Ultimately they found (*i.e.*, those who have seen It—seen that something which we have not seen) that language cannot adequately describe IT. So what was the method of description? Negative *i.e.*, It is not this, IT is not this. That is all the description we get.

All this because they were confronted with something which they were unable to describe. But you know inherently in your own heart of hearts, when you turn the searching eye inward, you find that perhaps you are That. It is in you. We get such concepts like ***Ātman*** is ***Brahman.*** People go on quarrelling about the nature of ***Ātman***; whether ***Brahman*** is the same as ***Ātman***. But all these quarrells come up because of ignorance. Each one is convinced in his own way of what he has seen, but each one is unable to convince others. Only those enlightened, who have seen that which we have not seen first hand, those who have experienced that which we have not experienced first hand, know the Truth. But one thing we must notice. Throughout the *Upaniṣads* we find that we are not asked to accept anything for granted. There is no revelation given to us. It does not say anywhere

"This is it, you take it." Now that is the remarkable strength of Hindu philosophy and it is because of that that nothing has replaced it. There have been times when they wanted to reform. But what was it they wanted to reform? Not the philosophy part of it. It is more the ritual part of it that was under reform. And that is why Hinduism is also able to absorb many modern things without batting an eye-lid, so to say. And when the scientific-minded people now look at these things, they find there is lot of reason in this. Modern physicists go to the *Vedānta* to understand the meaning of matter, the meaning of energy, the relation between matter and energy. Are there cosmic cycles? These are problems now faced by modern physicists and biologists and the answers are to be sought. If they again go back to the revelations given to the Vedic seers, perhaps there will be a new synthesis.

There is one more thing I would like to say. It is a common complaint we hear nowdays, that in modern India Sanskrit and Vedic studies are neglected. What do we do about it? Can we improve Sanskrit by talking about it from the platforms? We cannot. Shall we introduce it in the primary schools and high schools. We can try it and see the consequences. But without having scholars trained, how do we develop it? Why do we fail to develop trained scholars? When the times and the economic base of a country do not support that, there is no point in arguing about it. Is it the fault of scholars? Certainly a scholar will be pleased to have students. He would like to have as many students as possible. But he does not like to see his disciples go around the streets with a begging bowl. What is it we give to a Sanskrit scholar? So long as we cannot afford it, there is no use complaining about it. I am saying this because normally some of the politicians who matter make these speeches saying Sanskrit is neglected. True it is neglected. But who neglects? No scholar ever neglects his own subject. But if people cannot support themselves on that knowledge, why would they have the incentive to spread that knowledge? If we are determined about it, we can have Sanskirt learning. The interest, the opportunity and ultimately the means of living on that knowledge must be created. It is no use simply saying "make Sanskrit compulsory second language." That won't work. There are two divergent views and two ends in this which do not meet. One is the Sanskrit scholar, the teacher, who wants to put everything into the primary school. He just cannot. The other is the politician and the governors who matter, who do not see the economic problem involved in this. Unless you bring these two together, Sanskrit cannot flourish in this country. Given all the good will, we just cannot get people to learn Sanskrit because in modern times the economic advantages of learning certain branches of knowledge are overwhelmingly great.

Inspite of the above if so many people are present here, it is proof enough that even those who do not know anything critical or specific about the *Veda* or Hindu philosophy or Sanskrit learning, are, still at their heart, sympathisers, because they are part of it. Their stuff is made of the stuff of the *Veda*. Everyone born here carries with him a little of that. Therefore, it should be popularized, *i.e.*, an interest in the *Veda* must be created so that people may go to the originals. People must be so much interested in it that they would like to go and learn Sanskrit and go to the originals. Can we create such interest? If we can create it, it is good for the country, good for the future of India, good for the *Vedas*, good for Sanskrit, good for all that is good in Hindu Philosophy.

वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्मा, विद्याभूषणः, अनन्तशयनम्

वैदिकः प्रकृतिपाठः

प्रकृतिविकृतिभेदेन वेदपाठो द्विविधः। प्रकृतिपाठे संहितापदक्रमाख्याः त्रयः पाठा अन्तर्भवन्ति। घनजटादिरूपस्य विकृतिपाठाष्टकस्य स्वभावो व्याड्याचार्येण विकृतिवल्लीनामके ग्रन्थे निरूपितः। व्याडिराचार्यः अद्य यावदनुपलब्धस्य पाणिनीयतन्त्रप्रपञ्चनपरस्य लक्षश्लोकात्मकस्य सङ्ग्रहाख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्यापि कर्ता, दाक्षायणत्वेन दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः मातृभ्रातृव्य इति विदितः। प्रकृतिपाठे शब्दस्वरूपजिज्ञापयिषया उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितप्रचितलक्षणस्य स्वरस्य, लोपागमवर्णविकारप्रकृतिभावलक्षणस्य संस्कारस्य च नियमः प्रातिस्विक उपदेशः प्रातिशाख्यकारैः क्रियते, यतो मन्त्रब्राह्मणरूपस्य वेदस्य पाठे स्वरसंस्कारनियमो महतेऽभ्युदयाय कल्पते। तदुक्तम् – "वेदविषयः स्वरसंस्कारनियमः महोदयफलः" इति। प्रसङ्गात्तैः शिक्षाविहिताः वार्णसमाम्नायिकाः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नादयः, केचिद् व्याकरणविषयाश्च प्रदर्शिताः। तदिदं प्रदर्शनं साधुपदनिश्चयार्थं भवतीति नाप्रस्तुताभिधानम्। पदानां सन्दिह्यमानानां निश्चयः खलु तेन क्रियतेऽनभिज्ञस्य बोधनार्थम्। एवं क्वचित् संहितायामविद्यमानपदव्युत्पादनमपि तैः शिष्यव्युत्पत्त्यर्थं कृतम्। तच्चोक्तमेवं प्रातिशाख्यव्याख्यासन्दर्भेषु—

"विसर्जनीयथकारसन्धिस्तु संहितायां न विद्यते। अतो रूपोदाहरणं दीयते - क + थकारः = कस्थकारः।"

"इह यान्युदाहरणानि संहितायां नोपलभ्यन्ते तेषामपि लक्षणं प्रसङ्गात् क्रियमाणं न विरुध्यत एव। यथा जलाहरणस्य मत्स्याहरणं पुष्पाहरणस्य फलाहरणं च न विरुध्यते,"

"संहितायामुदाहरणाभावात् शाखान्तरोदाहरणसिध्यर्थम्," इत्यादि।

प्रातिशाख्यं हि नाम बहुषु शब्दशास्त्रप्रस्थानेष्वन्यतमं प्रधानभूतं च। बहूनि प्रातिशाख्यसूत्राणि तथैव, किञ्चिद्भेदेन च पाणिनीयाष्टाध्याय्यां दृश्यन्ते।

वाजसनेयिसंहितामधिकृत्य प्रवृत्तं कात्यायनीयं प्रातिशाख्यं पुरस्कृत्य केचन विषयाः प्रस्तूयन्ते। शाखायां शाखायां प्रति प्रतिशाखम्, प्रतिशाखं भवं प्रातिशाख्यमिति व्युत्पत्तिः। वाजसनेयिसंहितायाः पञ्चदशसु शाखासु माध्यन्दिनशाखायां समग्रोदाहरणलाभेनान्यशाखागतस्वल्पभेदप्रदर्शनेन च सर्वशाखासाधारणमेकमेव 'प्रातिशाख्यमिति विज्ञायते। काण्वशाखाद्युदाहरणसाधकानि हि सूत्राण्यत्र बहून्युपलभ्यन्ते। "पञ्चदशसु शाखासु लक्षणार्थमाचार्यस्य प्रवृत्तेः" इति वचनाच्च।

कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यस्य व्याख्याद्वयमस्ति, एकमुव्वटाचार्यकृतं मातृमोदाख्यं प्रातिशाख्यनिर्मलभाष्यम्। अपरं पदार्थप्रकाशाख्यमनन्तभट्टप्रणीतमर्वाचीनम्। उव्वटेनानुक्ता विज्ञेयाः केचन विषया अनन्तभट्टेन तत्र तत्र प्रतिपादिताः। यथा—

"यद्वा आपस्तम्बादीनामत्र पदकाले स्वरितपाठात् तदभिप्रायमिदं प्रसङ्गादुक्तमित्यवगन्तव्यम्।" (१-१२०)

"सिद्धे पृथक् सूत्रकरणं मन्दधीप्रज्ञापनार्थमिति केचित्। वस्तुतस्तु प्रचिकितः प्रकृष्टचेतनवांस्त्वमिति युष्मदो विशेषणत्वेन स्वरान्तरे प्राप्ते इदं सूत्रम्।" (२-१२)

"केचिद् ब्रह्मन्नित्यत्र आद्युदात्तत्वं सूचितमिति वदन्ति तन्न," (२–२१)

"एव शब्दोऽत्र पदादिरेवेति ज्ञापयति ।" (३–१२४)

इत्यादि । अत्र केचित्पदप्रयोगपूर्वव्याख्यातारमुव्वटमुद्दिश्येति ज्ञेयम् । तस्मादनन्तभट्टव्याख्यानस्योपादेयतरता अस्ति । उव्वटादृतात् सूत्रपाठादनन्तभट्टस्य सूत्रपाठः क्वचिद् भिद्यते । "क्वचित्पुस्तके 'न तनूनपात् पथे' इति सूत्रं नोपलभ्यते" इत्यनन्तभट्टः कण्ठतो वक्ति । "इदं सूत्रं केचिन्न पठन्ति व्यर्थत्वात्" इत्युव्वटोऽपि वदति,' केचिदत्र 'तृतीयमवसाने च' इत्येतत्सूत्रं पठन्ति । "सोऽपपाठः," इति द्वावपि गदतः । क्वचित् सूत्रद्वयमेकसूत्रतया व्याख्यातमनन्तभट्टेन । केषाञ्चित्सूत्राणामुव्वटभाष्यमन्येषां केषाञ्चिदनन्तभट्टव्याख्यानं च न दृश्यते । "सप्त" इति सूत्रे सामसु निषादर्षभादयः सप्त स्वरा इति, ताथाभाव्यवर्ज स्वरितभेदाः सप्तेति च अभिप्रायभेदः प्रदर्शितः । चयने यजुर्वेदे अध्वर्योः सामगानं विहितम् । "द्वौ" इति सूत्रे "उदात्तानुदात्तलक्षणौ द्वावेव स्वरौ यजुर्वेदे इत्यन्ये, यद्वा मन्त्रे त्रीन्, शतपथब्राह्मणे भाषिकलक्षणे उदात्तानुदात्तौ द्वावेव स्वरौ" इत्येवमनन्तभट्टः प्रस्तौति । सर्वमिदं, व्याख्यातॄणां परिनिष्ठितः सूत्रपाठो न लब्ध आसीत्; सूत्रार्थश्च एकरूपतया क्वचिन्न निर्धारित अभूत् इत्यावेदयति ।

सम्भाषणे ग्रन्थानुवाचने च प्रायः सर्वेषामपि पदानामुच्चारणमेकरूपेण ध्वनिना नास्माभिः क्रियते । यथा "रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि," इत्यत्र द्वितीयः कमलशब्दः । "यः पौत्रीं धुरमवगाहते स पुत्रः सा भार्या पतिहृदयप्रहर्षिणी या" इत्यत्र पुत्र भार्याशब्दौ च तत्तद्विशेषार्थबोधनाय सविशेषं यत्नतः शब्द्येते । उत्कटयत्नमुच्चार्यमाणोऽयं ध्वनिविकारः काकुरित्यभिधीयते । पदेष्वक्षराणामुच्चारणे क्रियमाणः श्रुतिभेदः स्वर इत्युच्यते । काकुः शोकभीत्याद्यर्थविशेषद्योतकः । यद्यपि पाणिनिः स्वरनिबन्धना बह्वीः व्यवस्थाः करोति तथापि निसर्गतः स्वरः कस्य द्योतकमिति शृङ्गग्राहिकया वक्तुं न शक्यते । नामसु लिङ्गमिव आख्यातेष्वुपग्रह इव चाक्षरेषु भासमानः कोऽप्युपाधिभेदः स्वर इत्येव वक्तव्यम् । यथा वृक्षसमुद्रादिषु पुंधर्मः लतासरिदादिषु स्त्रीधर्मश्चारोपितः, यथा चाख्यातेषु क्रियाफलस्य आत्मपरगामित्वभेदाभ्यामुपग्रहश्चारोपितः तथा लोपसम्भावनाराहित्यमुदात्ते लोपसम्भावनावत्त्वमनुदात्ते चारोपितमित्येवं स्वरमधिकृत्योद्भावयितुं शक्यते । 'अस्ति, स्तः, सन्ति' इत्यादिष्वस्तेर्लड्रूपेषु हि 'अस्ति, असि, अस्मि' इत्येकवचनेषु धात्वकार उदात्तः, द्विवचनबहुवचनेषु तु अनुदात्तः । उदात्ततायामकारो न लुप्यते । अनुदात्ततायां तु लुप्यते । लिङि 'स्यात्, स्यातां, स्युः' इति धात्वकारस्य सर्वत्रानुदात्तत्वात् सर्वत्र लोपः । पदेषूदात्तस्यैव प्राधान्यम् ।

स्वयमुच्चारणानर्हाणि व्यञ्जनानि स्वरानाश्रित्यैवोच्चारणयोग्यानि भवन्ति । अत एव "व्यञ्जनं स्वराङ्गम्" इति प्रातिशाख्यकारैः सूत्रितम् । यद् व्यञ्जनं यस्य स्वरस्याङ्गं भवति तत् तेनैव स्वरेण समानस्वरं भवति । प्रातिशाख्येषु प्रदर्शितां पूर्वाङ्गपराङ्गचिन्तां पुरस्कृत्य कानि कानि व्यञ्जनानि कांस्कान् स्वरानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्तीति विभागनिर्णयेन पदानामुच्चारणे पदावयवेषु जायमान आरोहावरोहात्मकः श्रुतिभेद एव उदात्तादिरूपेण परिणत इत्यनुमातुं मार्गोऽस्ति ।

उदात्त एक एव स्वरः, अनुदात्तस्तत्प्रतिद्वन्द्वीत्येव । स्वरितस्तु किञ्चिदुदात्तन्यग्भावादेव तृतीयस्वरतया परिगणितः । कामपि श्रुतिमनवलम्ब्याक्षराण्युच्चारयितुं न शक्यन्ते । तत्र यत्नविशेषं विना स्वयं प्रवर्तमाना नैसर्गिकी श्रुतिरनुदात्ता । केषुचित्पदेषु कानिचिदक्षराणि परं श्रुतिप्रकर्षेण पठ्यन्ते । तस्य श्रुतिप्रकर्षस्य उदात्तसंज्ञा । कुत्रचिद् विरलेषु पदेषु श्रुतिप्रकर्षः अक्षरं पूर्णतया न व्याप्नोति, किन्तु मात्रार्धके उच्चारिते अवरुह्य स्थायिनीं सामान्यश्रुतिमेवावगाहते । इयमवस्था स्वरित इत्युच्यते । स्वरानधिकृत्यैवमुक्तमभिज्ञैः —

"निवातनिष्पन्दस्य जलाशयस्य जलपूर इवैकश्रुतिः। वीचीतरङ्गणेषूर्ध्वगता कल्लोलकोटिरिवोदात्तः। कल्लोलयोर्मध्यगतमन्तरालमिवानुदात्तः। उन्नम्यावनमतस्तरङ्गस्य पार्श्वप्रपात इव स्वरितः। सामान्यमनुदात्तः शेषौ विशेषरूपौ। तयोःपुनः श्रुत्यारोहतारतम्यनिबन्धनः परस्परभेदः। उद् ऊर्ध्वम् आत्त आरोपित उदात्तः। स्वरवान् कृतः स्वरितः। स्वरशब्दात् "तत्करोति" इति "णिजन्तान्निष्ठा" इति।

उदात्तस्य ऊर्ध्वगमनं गात्राणां यत्नः, अनुदात्तस्य अधोगमनं गात्राणां यत्नः, आभ्यां यत्नाभ्यां समाहारीभूताभ्यां यः स्वर उच्चार्यते स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति। यथा धातुद्वयेन त्रपुसीसादि उत्पद्यते तद्वदित्यनन्तभट्टेनोक्तम्। समाहाररूपे स्वरिते ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतभेदेन भिन्ने कियानंश उदात्तः कियानंश अनुदात्त इति कृतो निर्णयश्चावश्यविज्ञेयः।

क्वचिद् वेदपाठेष्वेकश्रुतिर्विहिता। तानलक्षणमेकं स्वरमाहुर्यज्ञकर्मणि विकल्पेन। उदात्तानुदात्तलक्षणौ द्वावेव स्वरौ भाषिकलक्षितौ शतपथब्राह्मणे आहुः, संहिताविषये स्वरितस्योत्तरो भागोऽनुदात्तः। अतस्तदनुगामिनोऽनुदात्ताः परभागाभावादेकश्रुत्यैव श्रूयन्ते। तथा च यथा सन्ध्यभावरूपः प्रकृतिभावः तथा स्वरविवेकं विनोच्चार्यमाणा त्रैस्वर्याभावरूपा एकश्रुतिः। एकश्रुतिरेव प्रचितानां सङ्गीभूतानां स्वरितात् परेषामनुदात्तानां परभागाभावात् श्रुतेरारोहावरोहरहितमेकरूपं श्रवणमेव - प्रचय इति प्रातिशाख्येषूच्यते।

वेदाः परमद्य स्वाध्यायकाले स्वरोपस्कृतमुच्चार्यन्ते। पाणिनिः स्वजीवितकाले लौकिकसंस्कृतेऽपि स्वरप्रचारमावेदयति। "प्राचां क्रीडायाम्" इति प्राग्देशवासिनां क्रीडावाचकेषु 'उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका', 'वीरणपुष्पचायिका', 'तालभञ्जिका' इत्यादिषु शब्देषु स्वरविशेषमाह। "क्षयो निवासे" इत्यादिवन्नानार्थकशब्दानां स्वरेणार्थं नियन्त्रयति। स्वरनिबन्धनानि अन्यान्यपि बहूनि प्रयोजनानि साधयति। तथापि लौकिकसंस्कृते स्वरश्चिराल्लुप्तप्रचारो जातः।

यद्यपि उदात्तादयः स्वरा आचार्यैस्तत्र तत्र लक्षिताः तथापि तेषां स्वरूपभेदावबोधः, विशिष्य स्वरितभेदावगमः, प्रयोगश्च विलष्ट एव। स्वराङ्गे व्यञ्जनेऽपि स्वरधर्मा भवन्तीति पूर्वमुक्तस्य प्रमाणवाक्यमिदम्—

"स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च।
स्वरप्रधानं त्रैस्वर्यं व्यञ्जनं तेन सस्वरम्"॥ इति

पूर्वेण पदान्तेन पदादिः संहिता यदा क्रियते स्वरतो वर्णतश्च तदा द्विपदसंहिता उच्यते। क्रमसंहितेयम्। अस्या एवानुस्यूततायां संहिता दीर्घा भवति। पदे पदे विच्छेदो यदा क्रियते तदा असंहितः पाठः। तत्र पूर्वेण पदान्तेन उत्तरः पदादिः संहिता न क्रियते। छन्दोबद्धेषु मन्त्रेषु परं पादव्यवस्थास्ति। तदुक्तम् - "एकपदद्विपदत्रिपदचतुष्पदानेकपदाः पादाः" इति। सेयं पादसंहितेत्युच्यते छन्दसः पादपरिज्ञानाध्यापनादिप्रयोजनवती। यजुष्षु पादनियमाभावाद् वर्णानामेकोच्छ्वासोच्चारणयोगः, पदे वा वाक्ये विश्रामः सा संहिता। तदुक्तम् - "वर्णानामेकप्राणयोगः संहिता" इति।

वायुः शब्दस्य कारणम् वाय्वात्मकः स शब्दः आकाशादुत्पद्यते। तथा च प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रम् - "वायुः खात्", "शब्दस्तत्" इति। "आकाशाद् वायुः" इति श्रुतिश्च। शब्दात्मक एव वायुः सङ्घातादीन् प्राप्य वाग् भवति। आकाशस्य विशेषगुणः शब्द इति नैयायिकवचनमनुभवविरोधाद् युक्तिविरोधाच्च चिन्त्यमेव। अविभाज्य एको नादः वर्णः। वर्णसमाम्नाये पठिताः पञ्चषष्टिवर्णाः।

"त्रयोविंशतिरुच्यन्ते स्वराः शब्दार्थचिन्तकैः ।
द्विचत्वारिंशद् व्यञ्जनान्येतावान् वर्णसङ्ग्रहः" ।।

इत्येवमुक्तास्ते समस्ता एव त्रयीलक्षणो ब्रह्मराशिः । यथासम्भवं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतभेदेन भिन्नानां परिगणनया त्रयोविंशतिः स्वरा भवन्ति । ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुतः सानुनासिको निरनुनासिक उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरित इति स्वरधर्माः । एत एव सर्वे वर्णा आनुपूर्व्या व्यवस्थिताः सन्तः यथासम्प्रदायं पाठव्यवस्थयोपेताः सन्तः ऋग्यजुस्सामाख्या भवन्ति । लौकिक्या अपि वाचोऽयमेव वर्णराशिरात्मा । तदुक्तम् "यत्किञ्चिद्वाङ्मयं लोके सर्वमत्र प्रतिष्ठितम्" इति माध्यन्दिनानामन्येषां च केचिद् वर्णा नेष्यन्ते ।

वर्णानामेकीभावलक्षणः समुदायोऽक्षरम् । वर्णश्चाक्षरम् । स्वरः केवलोऽप्यक्षरम् । व्यञ्जनं तु स्वरसहितमेवाक्षरं भवति । तदुक्तम्-"सव्यञ्जनः सानुस्वारः शुद्धो वापि स्वरोऽक्षरम्" इति ।

"स्वरो वर्णोऽक्षरं मात्रा तत्प्रयोगार्थ एव च ।
मन्त्रं जिज्ञासमानेन वेदितव्यं पदे पदे" ।।

स्वरादिस्वरूपस्यावश्यविज्ञेयतां प्रतिपादयत्ययं श्लोकः । अक्षरसमुदायः पदम् अक्षरं वा ।

यत्किञ्चिच्छब्दराशिरुपलभ्यते त्रयीलक्षणं तत् तिङ् कृत् तद्धित चतुष्प्रकाराः समासात्मकं भवति । अव्ययीभावतत्पुरुषद्वन्द्वबहुव्रीहयः चतुष्प्रकाराः समासा भवन्ति ।

अर्थाभिधायि पदम् । पद्यते गम्यते ज्ञायतेऽर्थोऽनेनेति पदम् । "गोधूमाश्च मे" इत्यादिषु पदप्रतिरूपकस्य पदावयवस्य गो इत्यस्य गोत्वरूपार्थाभावान्न पदत्वमिति ध्येयम् । अर्थविशेषाच्च पदं चतुर्धा भिद्यते नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातरूपेण । तदुक्तम् —

"क्रियावाचकमाख्यातमुपसर्गो विशेषकृत् ।
सत्त्वाभिधायकं नाम निपातः पादपूरणः" ।। इति

क्रिया नाम धात्वर्थः । क्रियैव प्रधानम् । धात्वर्थोपस्कारक उपसर्गस्तु क्रियाया एव विशेषं करोति । यथा पचतीत्यत्र पाकः प्रतीयते । पुनः प्रपचतीत्युक्ते आदरश्च प्रतीयते । एवं गच्छति आगच्छतीत्यादिषु द्रष्टव्यम् । सत्वं नाम लिङ्गसङ्ख्याकारकनिर्मुक्तं प्रातिपादिकस्वरूपं तस्याभिधायकं नामपदम् । लिङ्गसंख्याकारकाणि तु सुब्तिङ्प्रत्ययार्थाः । निपातानामपि अर्थोऽस्तीत्येव मतम् । यास्केन निपातार्थाः सोदाहरणमभिहिताः । अर्थासम्भव एव निपातः पादपूरणो भवति ।

यः कश्चिद् वैदिकशास्त्रसन्धिरुच्यते स पदान्तपदाद्योर्वेदितव्यः । ते सन्धयश्चतुर्विधाः- स्वरयोः यथा — आ + इदम् = एदम् वरुण + इह = वरुणेह । व्यञ्जनयोः — यथा — सम् + यौमि = सँय्यौमि सम् + वपामि = सँव्वपामि । स्वरव्यञ्जनयोः, स द्विप्रकारः, पूर्वः स्वरो भवति पश्चाद् व्यञ्जनानि यथा—इषे + त्वा = इषेत्त्वा, ऊर्जे + त्वा = ऊर्जेत्त्वा । व्यञ्जनानि वा पूर्वाणि भवन्ति पश्चात् स्वर इति यथा — उद् + एनम् = उदेनम् । प्रश्लेषसन्धिर्यजुषि प्रायिकः ऋक्षु विरलः । वेदे व्यञ्जनयोरिव स्वरयोरपि संयोग आसीत् । प्रातिशाख्येषु एचां सन्ध्यक्षरत्वकीर्तनं, चालनीपर्याये तितउशब्दे सन्ध्यभावसद्भावश्चास्य गमकम् ।

वेदेषु नामपदानां लिङ्गनियमे महत् शैथिल्यं दृश्यते । तद्वत् चतुर्थ्यर्थे षष्ठी षष्ठ्यर्थे चतुर्थीत्यादिभिर्विनिमयैः, सर्वासां स्थाने प्रथमैकवचनप्रयोगैः, प्रत्ययलोपैरन्यैश्चोच्चावचैः सम्प्रदायैर्दुष्कर एव विभक्तीनां निर्णयः । किञ्च नामरूपावलिरेव विलक्षणा वेदेषु ।

लेड् वेद एव दृश्यते । सोऽयं टिल्लकारोऽपि ङिल्लकाराणां रूपाण्यपि लभते । लुड् वेदे नास्ति । धातूनां विकरणव्यवस्था नास्ति । सप्तसु विकरणप्रत्ययेषु एको द्वौ त्रयो वा यथायोगं धातुष्वासज्यन्ते । विकरणप्रत्यया हि रूपसौष्ठवाय प्रथमं धातोः पुरुषप्रत्ययानां च मध्ये यथायोगमायोजिताः क्रमेण तत्तद्धातुषु प्रतिनियता दृश्यन्ते । विकरणभेदेन धातोः प्रयोगसम्प्रदायः अद्याप्यनुवर्तते, यथा - क्लिश्नाति, क्लिश्यति । भ्रमति, भ्राम्यति ।

"धूनोति चम्पकवनानि धुनोत्यशोकं
 चूतं धुनाति धुवति स्फुटितातिमुक्तम् ।
वायुर्विधूनयति केसरपुष्परेणून्
 यत् कानने धवति चन्दनमञ्जरीश्च ॥"

"सत्तायां विद्यते ज्ञाने वेत्ति विन्ते विचारणे ।
विन्दते विन्दति प्राप्तौ श्यन्लुक्श्नम्शेष्विदं क्रमात् ॥"

सर्वेऽपि धातव उभयपदिनः । भूतकाललकारा वर्तमानेऽपि प्रयुक्ताः ।

धातोः प्रागेव प्रयोक्तव्या इत्युपसर्गाणां स्थाननियमो नास्ति । मध्ये बहुभिः पदैर्व्यवहितास्ते कृच्छ्रादुहिष्टेन धातुना योजनीयाः । कदाचित् प्रादिसमासेष्विव उपसर्गदर्शनाद् योग्यक्रियाध्याहार आवश्यको भवति ।

निपातानां तु पुरस्तादुपचाराः (नामभ्यः पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्याः) परस्तादुपचाराः (परत्वेन प्रयोक्तव्याः) इति स्थाननियम आसीत् । तथा हि - नञित्ययं निपातो नाम्नः पूर्वं प्रयुक्त एव निषेधं द्योतयति । परं प्रयुक्तस्तु उपमार्थम् । यथा "नेन्द्रं देवममंसत" - इन्द्रं देवं नामन्यन्तेति निषेधार्थे नञ् । "हृत्सु पीतासो युध्यन्ते दुर्मदासो न सुरायाम् ऊधर्न नग्ना जरन्ते," अत्र दुर्मदासो न दुर्मदाः पुरुषा इवेत्यर्थः । पदकार्येषु सर्वत्र दृश्यमानामव्यवस्थामीदृशीं दृष्ट्वैव शास्त्रकारैः "बहुलं छन्दसि," "सर्वे विधयः छन्दसि वैकल्पिकाः," "छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः" इत्येवमुक्तम् । ऋङ्मन्त्रेषु यजुष्षु ब्राह्मणेष्वारण्यकेषूपनिषत्सु च एतादृशव्यवस्थानिबन्धनस्य प्रयोगवैलक्षण्यस्य तरतमभावो दृश्यते । सोऽयं तेषां ग्रन्थानामर्वाचीनताक्रममनुरुध्यवति विज्ञायते

यज्ञे स्वाध्याये च संहितायाः सम्बन्धात् पदाध्ययने संहितार्थपरिज्ञानं प्रयोजनमिति गम्यते । उक्तं च भाष्यकारेण - "पदानि स्वं स्वमर्थं गमयन्ति" इति । पदानि स्वं स्वमर्थमभिधाय निवृत्तव्यापाराण्यर्थमवगमयन्तीति पदपूर्वकं पदार्थपरिज्ञानं पदार्थपरिज्ञानपूर्वकं वाक्यार्थपरिज्ञानं दर्शयति । एवं संहितापाठे पदपाठे च प्रसिद्धं प्रयोजनम् । न तथा क्रमपाठः । क्रमः स्मृतिप्रयोजनः । संहिताविषयं दृढस्मरणं करोति पदविषयं च । प्रयोजनानि तु अस्यान्यानि बहूनि । यथा द्वयोर्द्वयोः पदयोः वर्णसंहितोदात्तादिस्वरसंहिता च क्रमं मुक्त्वा नान्येन ज्ञायते । संहितावसानं च । पदकारणं क्रमः । क्रमणं क्रमः । द्वे द्वे पदे उत्तरोत्तरं सन्दधाति । स द्विक्रमः । तस्यानुस्यूततायां त्रिक्रमादिकं भवति । यथा - "उप स्वा त्वाग्ने अग्ने हविष्मतीः हविष्मतीर्घृताचीः घृताचीर्यन्त यन्त हर्य्यत हर्य्यतेति हर्य्यत ।" क्रमश्चार्षः । यतो व्याकरणे "तदधीते तद्वेद" इत्युपक्रम्य "क्रमादिभ्यो वुन्" इत्यत्र क्रममधीते क्रमकः पदमधीते पदक इति सिद्धं क्रमाध्ययनं प्रदर्शितम् ।

प्रकृतिपाठेषु स्वरसंस्काराणां सञ्चारः उत्सर्गापवादरीत्या अन्यथा च प्रातिशाख्ये वितत्य प्रदर्शितः । तथा लोपागमादीनां संस्काराणां स्वभावो विदित एवेति नात्र प्रस्तावमर्हति । एवं प्रातिशाख्योक्तनियमपूर्वमुपासिताः शब्दा अभ्युदयफला भवन्ति । न लक्षणेन पदकारा अनुवर्त्याः पदकारैर्नाम लक्षणमनुवर्तनीयम् ; तस्माद् यथालक्षणं पदं कर्तव्यमिति खलु महाभाष्ये स्थितम् ।

प्र. म. अण्णङ्गराचार्यः

पदपाठपारः

वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्य इत्याह गीतोपनिषत्सु यस्तम् ।
लक्ष्मीपतिं दिव्यगुणामृताब्धिं प्रणम्य कुर्वे पदपाठशुद्धिम् ।।

तैत्तिरीयसंहितायां समग्रायां (१०९२८७) ऊनत्रयोदशत्रिशताधिकनवसहस्रोत्तरलक्षसंख्याकानि पदानि सन्तीति परिगणितमस्ति । सुबन्ततिङन्ताव्ययात्मकं सर्वमत्रान्तर्गतम् । नमकचमकादिषु नमः, च, मे, स्वेन, भागधेयेन, उपधावति, सः, एव, तेन, एवम् इत्यादीनां पदानां पौनः पुन्येनावर्तमानानां संख्या भूयसी । आह्लवध्यै, मादयध्यै, धेष्ठा, गोधा, कालका, दार्वाघाटः, शित्पुटः, उद्रः, मद्गुः, इत्येवंरीतिकानामपूर्वतया सिध्यतां पदानां संख्या परिमितैव स्यात् । एतेषामशेषाणामपि पदानां स्वरूपयाथात्म्यमध्ययनपरंपराप्राप्तं सुदृढचिन्तनव्यग्रैर्गुरुकुलपरिश्रान्तैः सुष्ठु संरक्ष्यते । तथापि पदानामानन्त्यात् जनिधर्मणामनिवार्यैः संदेहभ्रमादिभिः विपरीतग्रहणं संभवीति वैदिकमनस्साक्षिकमेतत् । पदपाठे नानाविधास्संशयास्संभाविताः । तेषामपनोदनं विमर्शकुशलानां विदुषां सुकरमित्यभ्युपायविशेषप्रदर्शनमातनोति सेयं कृतिरस्मदीया । एतस्मिन्नेव विषये विपुलास्सन्त्यस्मदीया बह्व्यः कृतयः । तासां सारसंक्षेपरूपिणी सेयं लध्वी कृतिरित्यवधेयम् ।।

पुनः पुनरावर्तमानानामपि पदानां स्वरसन्निवेशः सर्वत्रापि विपर्ययलेशविरहितस्समरूप एवेति गृह्यतामुत्सर्गतः । सः, सा, तत्, ह, स्म, न, च, मे, त्वम्, नः वः, त्वा इत्येवमादीनि भूयांस्येकाक्षरपदानि, तस्य, तव, एषः, एषा, पूषा, इयम्, अयम्, असौ, तथा, कथम्, कथा, इति, एवम्, एव, पिता, माता, देवः इत्यादीनि भूयांसि द्व्यक्षराणि पदानि, पृथिवी, सविता, चन्द्रमाः, बृहस्पतिः इत्यादीनि भूयांसि बह्वक्षरपदानि च सर्वत्रापि व्यवस्थितस्वरयुक्तान्येवेति तादृशपदविषये न किंचिद्विवक्षितमस्माकमिह । ते, मा, स्य, इत्यादीनि भूयांस्येकाक्षरपदानि, अव, अन्तः, अग्ने, यतः इत्यादीनि भूयांसि द्व्यक्षरपदानि, इन्द्राग्नी, द्यावापृथिवी, इन्द्रावरुणा, वाजयन्तः, इत्यादीनि भूयांसि बह्वक्षरपदानि च स्थलभेदेन स्वरभेदं प्राप्तानि भूरिशो विलोक्यन्ते वेदे । एतादृशो विवेकस्तिङन्तपदेष्वपि भूयान् । एकमेव पदं स्थलभेदेन कथं स्वरभेदं भजतीति विचारे केचिन्मन्यन्ते – नात्र किमपि कारणमुन्नेतुं शक्यं योग्यं वा; वेदपुरुषस्य नियोगपर्यनुयोगानर्हत्वात् विपर्ययास्सर्वेऽपि तत्स्वातन्त्र्याधीना एव प्रतिपत्तव्या इति । तदिदं न सहामहे वयं मनागपि । वैदिकपदेषु स्वरविषयको विचार एक एव न; अविसर्गान्तत्वविसर्गान्तत्व, एकारान्तत्वविसर्गान्तत्व, ऐकारान्तत्वविसर्गान्तत्व, प्रग्रहावग्रहतदभावादिविषयिण्यो दशाधिका विचिकित्सा लब्धावकाशा भवन्ति । "प्रजा जनयति" इत्यत्र प्रजेत्यविसर्गान्तं वा, प्रजाः इति विसर्गान्तं वा? "वस्यस आहरति" इत्यत्र वस्यसे इत्येकारान्तं वा, वस्यसः इति विसर्गान्तं वा? "अभिजित्या इत्याहुः" इत्यत्र अभिजित्यै इत्यैकारान्तं वा, अभिजित्याः इति विसर्गान्तं वा? ते इति पदस्य कुत्र प्रग्रहः कुत्र न? वाजयन्त इति पदस्य कुत्रावग्रहः, कुत्र न? [अवग्रहो नाम वेष्टनम् – वाजयन्त इति वाज - यन्तः इत्येवं रूपम् ।] इत्येवंविधास्संशयाः सुदृढाधीतिशालिनामपि संभवन्ति । व्यत्यासाः कारणविशेषमन्तरा नैव भवन्तीति, ते च कारणविशेषाश्शास्त्रीया एवेति च अव्यभिचरितनिरूपणमस्मदीयमवधेयम् ।

संहिता, पदपाठ इति द्वितयम्। संहितायां नास्माकं विचारलेशोऽपि। अपि तु केवलं पदपाठे। संहितायां विश्वेभिः, देवेभिः, कर्णेभिरित्यादिरूपाः पदविपर्ययास्सन्त्येव। एते हि सत्यं वेदपुरुषस्य स्वातन्त्र्यनिबन्धनाः। पदपाठे तु स्वतन्त्रतया नैकोऽपि विपर्ययो लब्धावकाश इत्यवधार्यम्। एकमेवात्र निदर्श्यते – "याहि साध्या हविरदन्तु देवाः।" अत्र साध्याः इति सविसर्गं वा, साध्येत्यविसर्गं वेति संशयस्संभवी। देवा इति पदसमभिव्याहारदर्शने तु साध्या इति सविसर्गमेवेति निश्चयो भवितुमर्हति। परंतु पदपाठे (साध्या) इत्यविसर्गमेवाध्ययनमागतम्। अत्र साध्याः – पूजनीयाः देवा इति प्रमादतोऽवतीर्णं विद्यारण्यभाष्यमवलम्ब्य पदपाठेऽपि विपर्ययोऽस्त्येवेति केचिद्वदन्ति। नैवम्। अत्र साध्या इति पदं न देवानां विशेषणम्; अपि तु (साधु) इत्यर्थकमव्ययम्। अनुपदप्रश्नावसाने (साधुया) इत्यधीयमानं पदमत्र (साध्या) इत्यधीतमिति वस्तुस्थितिरवधेया। एवं पदपाठे विपर्ययगन्धोऽपि नास्तीति निरूपणं प्रति परस्सहस्राणि पदान्युपादेयानि भवन्ति। संक्षेपरुचिवशात् इषेत्वेति प्रथमानुवाकमुपादाय तत्रास्मदीयविमर्शवैखरीं विशदयामः। अत्र स्थ, अर्पयतु, प्यायध्वम्, ईशत, वृणक्तु, स्यात, पाहि इति सप्त पदानि तिङन्तानि वर्जयित्वा सुबन्तपदान्यधिकृत्याधुना ब्रूमः। [इषे] अन्नवाचक इट्छब्दः चतुर्थ्यन्तः। इदमन्तोदात्तमेव सर्वत्रापि; नैकत्रापि विपर्ययः। इदमेव पदं विभक्त्यन्तरेषु वचनान्तरेषु वा स्वरभेदं प्राप्नोति। "इषमावदोर्जमावद।" [त्वा] इदं पदं सर्वत्रापि निहतमेव। (निहतम् – सर्वानुदात्तम्।) ननु "स त्वा अध्वर्युस्स्यात्" इत्यत्र त्वा इत्येतत् कथमुदात्तस्वरेणाधीतमिति न प्रक्ष्यन्ति वैदिकाः। तत्र तावत् पदशरीरं त्वा इति न; तु वै अध्वर्युः – त्वा अध्वर्युः इति छान्दसस्सन्धिः। [ऊर्जे] रसार्थक ऊर्क्छब्दः चतुर्थ्यन्तः। इदमपि इषे इतिवन्नियतमन्तोदात्तमेव। [वायवः] वायुरित्येकवचनान्तं सर्वत्रान्तोदात्तमेव। बहुवचनान्तं तु सर्वास्वपि विभक्तिषु (द्वितीयां वर्जयित्वा) स्वरितान्तमेव। [देवः] सर्वत्राप्यन्तोदात्तमेव। ननु "श्रद्धया देव" इत्यत्र कथं निघात इति शङ्का मा भूत्। तत्र न देव इति पदशरीरम्; अपि तु अदेव इति। देवा इति बहुवचनान्तं पदमपि अन्तोदात्तमेव; "साध्या वै देवाः," "हविरदन्तु देवाः" इति बहुलं द्रष्टव्यम्। इदमवधेयम्। देवा इति पदं निमित्तभेदेन त्रेधा भिन्नस्वरयुक्तम् "ये देवा दिव्येकादशस्थ" "इदं देवाः शृणुत" इत्यादिस्थलेषु संबुद्ध्यन्तत्वनिमित्तको निघातः। संबुद्ध्यन्तानि सर्वाण्यपि पदानि निहतस्वराण्येवेति नियमः। "देवा वसव्या" इत्यत्र संबुद्ध्यन्तत्वेऽपि निघाताभावो वाक्यादित्वनिमित्तकः। वाक्यादौ पादादौ च न क्वापि निघात इति सुदृढमिदं निधेयं हृदि। तथा च देवा इति पदस्य स्वरत्रितयं सिद्धम्; प्रथमायामन्तोदात्तता, संबुद्धौ सर्वानुदात्तता, तस्या एव वाक्यादित्वे आद्युदात्तता। "देवा वै देवयजन"मित्यादिषु वाक्यादित्वे सत्यपि संबुद्ध्यन्तत्वाभावादेव नाद्युदात्तता। एवंरूपनिमित्तभेदेन त्रैस्वर्यं भजमानानि पदानि [इन्द्राग्नी] इत्यादीनि भूयांसीति दिक्॥

[कर्मण आप्यायध्वम्] अत्र कर्मणः इति पदविभागे सुकरे सत्यपि श्रेष्ठतमायेति विशेषणबलान्न तत्प्राप्तिः। "आ श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणः प्यायध्वम्" इति, "आ श्रेष्ठतमस्य कर्मणे प्यायध्वम्" इति वा संहितासद्भावे तु स सांहितो विपर्ययस्स्यात्।

[अघ्निया देवभागम्] अत्र अघ्नियाः इति सविसर्गं वा, अघ्नियेत्यविसर्गं वेति संदेहप्रशमनोपायमाकर्णयत। पदमेतन्निहतम्; अत एव सविसर्गमिति निश्चयो निष्प्रत्यूहः। कथमिति चेत्; सुबन्तपदं ह्येतत्। सुबन्तपदस्य निघातः कुत्रापि नैव भवेत्। संबुद्ध्यन्तत्वे सति भवेदिति पुनरुक्तमेतत्। तथा च स्वरतः संबुद्ध्यन्तमिदमिति सिद्धम्। अघ्निये इत्यभावात् बहुवचनान्तं पदमिति निश्चिते सविसर्गत्वमर्थात्सिद्धमेव। धेनुवाचकं पदमिदम्। देवाः, इन्द्राग्नी इत्यादाविव

अत्रापि त्रैस्वर्यं सुघटितम् । "यदापो अघ्नियाः," "कृशं न हासुरघ्नियाः" इत्यत्र आद्युदात्तता। "पतिरघ्नियानाम्," "अघ्नियासु हृत्सु" इत्यत्र अन्तोदात्तता। "अघ्निया देवभागम्" इति प्रकृतस्थले सर्वानुदात्तता – इति ।

[ऊर्जस्वतीः पयस्वतीः प्रजावतीः बह्वीः] इति पदचतुष्टयेऽपि संहितो विपर्ययश्छान्दसः । चतुर्भिरप्येतैः पदैरर्थरीत्या प्रथमाबहुवचनान्तैर्भवितव्यम्, ऊर्जस्वत्यः पयस्वत्यः प्रजावत्यो बह्वय इति । अतथात्वं विपर्यय एव । नासौ पदपाठज इति स्पष्टम् । [मावस्स्तेन ईशत माघशँसः] निषेधार्थकस्य माङ उदात्तत्वं नियतम् । मामित्यर्थकस्य (मा) इत्यस्य अनुदात्तत्वं च नियतम् । नैकत्रापि विपर्ययः । [पाहि मा मा मा हिंसीः] इति स्मर्तव्यम् । मां मा हिंसीरिति विवक्षितम् । "तेजो मा मा हासीन्माहं तेजो हासिषम्" इत्यादि च भूयिष्ठम् । "भक्षेहि मा विश" इत्यादिषु मामित्यर्थकस्यापि मा इत्यस्य उदात्तश्रवणमाङ्प्रश्लेषनिबन्धनम् । मा आ विश इति हि पदपाठः ।

सुबन्तपदविमर्शमेतावता परिसमाप्य अथ तिङन्तपदविमर्शेऽवतरामः ।

सुबन्तपदविमर्शतोऽपि तिङन्तपदविमर्शो द्राघीयान् भवितुमर्हति । कुतः? वेदे तिङन्तपद-प्रयोगेषु दशानां विधानां सद्भावात् । ताश्च विधाः क्रमशः प्रदर्श्यन्ते । (१) इषेत्वानुवाके, "वायवस्स्थ," "उपायवस्स्थ," "स्तेन ईशत," "गोपतौ स्यात" "पशून् पाहि" इति स्थल-पञ्चके उपसर्गयोगरहित – निहत–तिङन्तप्रयोगः । (२) तस्मिन्नेवानुवाके, "प्रार्पयतु," "आप्या-यध्वम्" (अन्यत्र च "स्वेन भागधेयेनोपधावति" इत्यादि) । अत्र पृथक्पदभूत – एकोप-सर्गयुक्त – निहत – तिङन्तप्रयोगः । (३) "उपप्रयात दिव्यानि धाम" "सं प्रच्यवध्वम्" इत्यादिषु पृथक्पदभूत – उपसर्गद्वययुक्त – निहत – तिङन्तप्रयोगः । (४) "अनुसंप्रयाताग्ने" इत्यत्र पृथक्पदभूत – उपसर्गत्रययुक्त – निहत – तिङन्तप्रयोगः । चतुर्विधेष्वप्येतेषु स्थलेषु नास्ति किमपि विवक्षितं नः । तिङन्तान्वयितया उपसर्गप्रयोगस्य नियमाभावात्, "वायवस्स्थोपायवस्स्थ ।" इत्यादिस्थलेष्विव तिङन्तानामौत्सर्गिकस्य निघातस्य अत्रापि यथायथं स्थितत्वाच्च प्रथमविधायां न किंचिदस्ति वक्तव्यम् । उपसर्गस्य उपसर्गयोः उपसर्गाणां वा पृथक्पदत्वेन योगस्थलेषु उपसर्गाणां व्यवस्थितस्य स्वरस्य तिङन्तानां च तादृशस्वरस्य मात्रयाऽपि वैकल्यादर्शनेन द्वितीय-तृतीयचतुर्थविधास्वपि न किंचिदस्ति वक्तव्यम् ।

(५) अथ पञ्चमी विधा — "यानि घर्मे कपालान्युपचिन्वन्ति," "यदागच्छात् पथिभिः" इत्यादिस्थलेषु उपसर्गस्य तिङन्तस्य च समासः कृतोऽस्ति । न केवलमेतावदेव । उपसर्गस्वरोऽपि विपर्यस्तः तिङन्तस्वरोऽपि विपर्यस्तः । उपचिन्वन्तीत्यत्र आद्युदात्तत्वनियमवत उपेत्युपसर्गस्य निहतत्वमेको विपर्यासः । निहतत्वनियमवतस्तिङन्तस्य (चिन्वन्तीत्यस्य) अनुदात्तोदात्तस्वरित-युक्तत्वमपरो विपर्यासः । यत्र यत्रोपसर्गस्य तिङन्तेन समासो भवति, तत्र सर्वत्र ईदृशी स्थिति-रनिवार्या । एवंभावे किं निमित्तमिति विमर्शनीयम् । विमृष्टे नियम एष निष्पद्यते – योहि-प्राप्तिरिति वैदिकगोष्ठीषु संप्रतिपन्नः कोऽप्यस्ति व्यवहारः । यद्वि तु परं छन्दसि इति पाणिनि-सूत्रेणाप्यनुगृहीतस्सः । यच्छब्दरूपाणां, हि इत्यव्ययस्य च योगस्थलेषु (तिङन्ते) स्वरविपर्ययो भवतीति तदर्थः । यतः यदि, यर्हि, यदा, यथा, यावदित्यादिकं सर्वमपि योहिप्राप्तिसंकेतग्राह्यमेव । तत्समभिव्याहृतस्थलेषु नियमेन तिङन्तेषु स्वरविपर्ययो भवत्येव । विपर्ययो नाम निघातप्रत्यनीक-तया उदात्तस्वरयोगः । उपसर्गयोगाभावेऽपि योहिप्राप्तिस्थलेषु तिङन्तस्वरविपर्ययो नियत एव । "यस्यैवं जुह्वति," "यः कामयेत," "य एवं वेद" इत्यादिपरश्शतमवेक्ष्यम् । योहिप्राप्तिर्न समासानबन्धाय कल्पते "यत्त्रिः प्रायच्छत्," "यथा वस्यस आहृत्य प्राह" इत्यादिस्थलेषु योहिप्राप्तिसद्भावेऽपि समासादर्शनात् । अव्यभिचरितनियतस्वरयुक्तानामुपसर्गाणां स्वरभेदो

यत्र यत्र सुस्पष्टमीक्ष्यते संहितायाम्, तत्र तत्र नियत एव समास इति सुदृढं ग्राह्यम्। "यत् प्रायच्छत्," "यथा प्राह" इत्यत्र प्रेत्युपसर्गे स्वरभेदादर्शनादेव पदकारैस्समासो न कृतः। "यत्प्रजायते," "यत्प्रजनयति," "यत्प्रच्यवते" इत्यादिस्थलेषु उपसर्गे स्वरभेददर्शनादेव समासः कृतः। अभीत्युपसर्गयोगेऽप्येतत्समानम्। तथा चैतदुक्तं भवति। योहिप्राप्तिस्थलेषु तिङन्ते स्वरविपर्ययस्सर्वथा नियतः। उपसर्गसमासस्त्वनियतः। तत्रापि सुस्पष्टस्वरभेदशालिनामुपसर्गाणां समासो नियत एव-इति। अथेदमवधेयम्। सप्तमकाण्डे प्रथमे पञ्चमे च प्रश्ने "अभ्यतिरिच्यते" इति द्विरधीयते ["होतारं वा अभ्यतिरिच्यते," "विष्णुं तच्छिपिविष्टमभ्यतिरिच्यते" इति]। उभयत्र च स्वरसन्निवेशे समरूपे सत्यपि प्रथमस्थले समासम्, अनन्तरस्थले पृथक् पदत्रयतां च पदकारा आशेरत। ईदृशी स्थितिस्समग्रायामपि संहितायामेकत्रैवावलोक्यते। किमत्र निमित्तमिति विमृशद्भिरस्माभिरेवमवधारितम्। अभीत्युपसर्गस्य अन्तोदात्तत्वं नियतम्। समासे तु तस्य निघातो नियमेन भवति। हल्परत्वस्थल एव तस्य स्पष्टता स्यात् – यदभिजयतीत्यादौ। अत्र तु हल्परत्वं नास्ति; अच्परत्वमेवास्ति। अत्र अभ्युपसर्गे स्वरभेदग्रहणस्य सर्वथा दौर्लभ्यं स्थितम्। अभेरत्र निहतत्वं च स्यात्, अन्तोदात्तता च स्यात्। तथा चानिश्चयः। अत एव पदकारा एकत्र समासम्, अन्यत्र व्यासं च वितेनुः। वैकल्पिकतां प्रत्याययन्ति स्मेति यावत्।

(६) अथ षष्ठी विधा — "प्रजास्त्वमुपावरोह," "प्रजास्त्वामुपारोहन्तु," जनयन्नुपागाम्," "उपमामुपागुः" इत्यादिस्थलेषु उपसर्गयोरुभयोस्तिङन्तेन समासो दृश्यते। एतादृशस्थलेष्वेव सुविपुलः कर्तव्यो भवति विचारः। संक्षेपरुचिवशात् सारं ब्रूमः। अत्र प्रयुक्ते उपसर्गद्वये आद्युपसर्गे स्वरभेदस्यापलपितुमशक्यत्वात् सर्वथा समासशरणं भवति। योहिप्राप्त्यादिनिमित्त-विशेषसद्भावे तु समास उपपद्येत। अत्र तु तादृशं निमित्तं नैकमप्यस्ति। निमित्ताभावेऽपि यत्र समासः क्रियते, तत्र एकाकी उपसर्गो न स्यादिति अनेकोपसर्गसत्ता नियतेति च सुदृढं गृह्यताम्। सर्वथा चाव्यभिचरितैषा व्यवस्था। अत एव उपागाम्, उपागुरित्यत्र एक एवोपसर्गो वा, द्वावुपसर्गौ वेति संशये जाते, नैकः, अपितु द्वावेवेति निर्धारणमव्याहतं भवति। योहिप्राप्त्यादि-निमित्तसद्भावे तु उपागुरित्युप–अगुः, उपागामित्युप–अगाम् इत्येव पठितव्यं भवेन्नान्यथा। तथा च, उपसर्गसमासस्थलेषु निमित्तविशेषोऽस्ति वा नवेति विमर्शो विदुषामत्यावश्यकः। निमित्तसद्भावे एकोपसर्गयोगनिश्चयः; तदभावे द्व्युपसर्गयोगनिश्चय इति फलितम्। एकोपसर्ग-योगो वा, द्व्युपसर्गयोगो वा, त्र्युपसर्गयोगो वा नास्माभिः स्वबुद्ध्याऽवसीयते। अपि त्वध्ययन-परंपरयैव गृह्यते। गृहीतस्य स्थैर्यमेतादृशविमर्शवशादिति ध्येयम्॥

(७) अथ सप्तमी विधा — "दक्षिणा पर्यावर्तते," "स्वमेव वीर्यमनुपर्यावर्तते" इत्यादीन्यपि यद्यप्यधस्तात् प्रदर्शितायाष्षष्ठविधाया एव निदर्शनानि, तथाप्यत्र अधिकं विवेचनमाकर्णयत। उपसर्गद्वयसमासे आद्युपसर्गस्य केवलं स्वरविपर्ययः; द्वितीयोपसर्गे तदुत्तरतिङन्ते च मात्रयाऽपि स्वरविपर्ययो न स्यात्। तथाविधस्थलान्येव षष्ठविधाया भवन्ति निदर्शनानि। अथ सप्तम-विधायामेष विवेकः–समासे प्रथमोपसर्गे स्वरभेदस्तावदवर्जनीयः; अनन्तरोपसर्ग–तिङन्तस्वरोऽपि यदि भिद्येत, "यत्पर्यावर्तयेत्" इत्यादौ, सैषा सप्तमी विधा। योहिप्राप्त्यादिनिमित्तसद्भाव-मन्तरा एवं स्वरभेदो न स्यादिति सुदृढमवधार्यम्। अत्र उपसर्गद्वयेऽपि स्वरभेदः, तिङन्तेऽपि स्वरभेद इति द्रष्टव्यम्।

(८) अथाष्टमी विधा – "अपोग्रेभिव्याहरति" इति स्थले त्र्युपसर्गसमासः। तथापि प्रथमोप-सर्गमात्रे स्वरभेदः। अत एवात्रापि योहिप्राप्त्यादिनिमित्ताभावनिश्चयस्सुदृढः। अनुसंप्रयातेत्यत्र चतुर्ष्वपि पदेषु स्वरस्य अविपर्यस्तत्वात् पृथक्पदत्वनिश्चयश्च सुदृढः।

(९) अथ नवमी विधा — "शुन्धध्वं दैव्याय कर्मणे, "आपं त्वाग्ने मनसापम," "तरति ब्रह्महत्याम्" इत्यादिषु योहिप्राप्त्यभावेऽपि तिङन्ते उदात्तयोगरूपः स्वरविपर्ययो दृश्यते । एवं परस्सहस्रस्थलानि सन्ति । अत्र च निमित्तं वाक्यादित्वम् । वाक्यादौ पादादौ वा नैकमपि पदं निहन्यत इति सुदृढमवधार्यम् । वसिष्ठानुवाके "सोऽविन्दत प्रजाम्" इत्यत्र अविन्दतेति तिङन्ते उदात्तयोगस्तु योहिप्राप्त्यापि न, वाक्यादित्वाच्च न । तर्हि कथं स्वरभेद इति चेत्; कर्तृपदं वा कर्मपदं वा तिङन्तं वा बहुत्रान्वेति यत्र, तत्रापि तिङन्तस्वरो भिद्यते । तथा चैतदपि योहिप्राप्त्यादिवत् किमपि निमित्तमित्यवसेयम् । "सोऽविन्दत प्रजाम्" इति निर्दशितस्थले स इति कर्तृपदस्य, "अभिसौदासानभवत्" इत्युत्तरस्थलेऽप्यन्वयादेव तिङन्ते स्वरविपर्ययः ।।

(१०) अथ दशमी विधा–अधस्तान्नवमविधायामुपपादितो निमित्तविशेष उपसर्गसमासस्थलेऽपि ध्येयः । अत एव, "उपामन्त्रयन्त राज्येन पितरः" इत्यत्र समासः । उपसर्गद्वययोगसंदेहनिवृत्तिश्च अत एव भवति । उपामन्त्रयन्तेत्युप आमन्त्रयन्त इति नह्यधीयते । कुतः? एतावताऽस्माभिरुपपादितं ये सुष्ठु प्रतिपद्यन्ते ते स्वयं विजानीरन्निति मन्यामहे । अथापि संक्षेपेण सूचयामः । तिङन्तस्वरविपर्ययं प्रति निमित्तविशेषसद्भाव आवश्यक इति, तानि निमित्तानि विविधानीति च प्रत्यपीपदाम । उपामन्त्रयन्तेत्यत्र बहुत्रान्वयरूपनिमित्तविशेषसद्भावादेव समासः, तिङन्ते स्वरविपर्ययश्च जातः । आमन्त्रयन्तेत्यवग्रहपाठे कृते उपागुरित्यादि पदसमशीलत्वमेव स्यादिति ।

अथ प्रकृतनिबन्धमुपसंहरामः । तिङन्तेषु उदात्तस्वरयोगरूपस्वरविपर्ययं प्रति सुबहून् निमित्तविशेषान् प्रादर्शयाम । अन्ततश्चैकं प्रदर्शयामः । पाणिनीयस्वरप्रक्रियायां "चवायोगे प्रथम" इत्येकं सूत्रमत्यन्तोपकारकम् । समुच्चयार्थकचकाराणामनेकेषाम्, विकल्पार्थके वाकाराणामनेकेषाम् च प्रयोगस्थले प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिः स्वरविपर्ययं प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः । "उर्वी चासि वस्वी चासि," "ईड्यश्चासि वन्द्यश्च वाजिन्" इत्यादिषु चकारयोगेनैव तिङि स्वरविपर्ययः । "स वाऽन्यं जिनीयात्तं वाऽन्यो जिनीयात्" इत्यादिषु च वाकारयोगेनैव तथा । "वत्सं चोपावसृजत्युखां चाधिश्रयत्यवच हन्ति दृषदौ च समाहन्ति" इत्यत्र प्रकृतविषयगोचरं विपुलं विवरणमस्मदीये वेदाध्ययनसर्वस्वे सुविशदमिति सर्वं समञ्जसम् ।।



वे. जगदीश्वरशास्त्री

शुक्लयजुर्वेदमीमांसा

व्यासः पराशरमुनौ पितरि स्थितेऽपि
साक्षात्स्वयं मधुहरोऽपि यमेव वव्रे ।
आचार्यमद्भुतगुणोत्कर राजमानं
तं याज्ञवल्क्यगुरुमेव सदा नतोऽस्मि ।। आदित्यपुराणम् ।।

वन्देऽहं मंगलात्मानं भास्वन्तं वेदविग्रहम् ।
याज्ञवल्क्यं मुनिश्रेष्ठं जिष्णुं हरिहरप्रभम् ।।

जितेन्द्रियं जितक्रोधं सदाध्यानपरायणम् ।
आनन्दनिलयं वन्दे योगानन्दं मुनीश्वरम् ।।

सामान्यतो वेदलक्षणप्रामाण्ये —

तत्रादौ वेदलक्षणप्रामाण्ये संक्षेपतो निरूप्येते । वेदशब्दव्युत्पत्त्या, अनधिगताबाधितप्रयोजनवदर्थबोधकवाक्यराशित्वं वेदलक्षणमिति सिद्धचति । विद ज्ञान इति धातोः करणार्थकघञ्प्रत्यययोगेन निष्पन्नस्य वेदशब्दस्य "वेद्यन्ते बोध्यन्ते प्रमाणान्तरानधिगताबाधिताः दृष्टादृष्टफलकाः कर्मकलापा अनेनेति करणव्युत्पत्त्या पूर्वोक्तलक्षणसिद्धेः । क्वचिच्च "नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः" इति सूत्रविहिताच्प्रत्यययोगेन वेदशब्दो व्युत्पादितो दृश्यते । तेन च "यो धर्मं ब्रह्म च वेदयति स वेद" इति वेदलक्षणं प्रसिद्धचति । तथा चाव्याप्त्यतिव्याप्त्यादिदोषरहितमज्ञातज्ञापकत्वलक्षणं वेदलक्षणं सिद्धम् । उक्तं च मनुना –

प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुद्धचते ।
एनं विदन्ति वेदेन तस्माद्वेदस्य वेदता ।। इति । मनुस्मृतिः ।

धर्माधर्मयोर्ब्रह्मणि च न प्रत्यक्षादि प्रमाणान्तरं प्रक्रमते । प्रत्यक्षं हीन्द्रियसंबद्धवर्तमानवस्तूपलम्भकमेव नातीन्द्रियवस्तूपलम्भकम् । अतीन्द्रियार्थे, योगिप्रत्यक्षस्यापि नावकाशः ।

अविच्छिन्नधारया भावनया जायमानं योगिप्रत्यक्षं जनिष्यमाणं धर्मं कथमवगाहेत । भावना हि अनुभूतविषयनिरन्तरस्मरणात्मिका चित्तवृत्तिः । सा च भूतविषयिणी भवेत् न पुनर्भाविविषयिणी । अत एव नानुमानं वेदार्थे प्रमाणम्, प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वादनुमानप्रवृत्तेः । व्याप्तिज्ञानं खल्वनुमानं । तच्च कार्यकारणयोर्विशेषज्ञानाधीनं भवति । तच्च दुर्लभमिति । तथा च श्लोकवार्तिकम्–सामर्थ्यं नानुमानादेर्लिंगादिरहिते क्वचित् । इति । अतो नानुमानगम्यो वेदार्थः, किन्तु शब्दमूलो वेदार्थ इति जैमिन्यादिभिस्समर्थितमौत्पत्तिकसूत्रे । तत्सूत्रोक्तं वेदप्रामाण्यं बादरायणाचार्यस्याप्यभिमतमिति च तत्र प्रतिज्ञातम् । लौकिकशब्दस्य प्रमाणान्तरसापेक्षतया यथा प्रामाण्यमिष्यते, नैवं वैदिकशब्दस्य । तस्यापौरुषेयत्वेनानपेक्षत्वात् । सृष्टिप्रलयमनंगीकुर्वाणाः पूर्वमीमांसका वेदाध्ययनविषयिणीं गुरुशिष्यप्रणालीमविच्छिन्नामनादिं च वर्णयन्ति । एवं च कर्तुरस्मरणादिना वेदस्यापौरुषेयत्वमिच्छन्ति । तदुक्तं श्लोकवार्तिके —

वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम् ।
वेदाध्ययनसामान्यादधुनाऽध्ययनं यथा ।। इति

महाभारतादिषु "को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्भवेदि"ति वचनेन भारतकर्तुः स्मर्यमाणत्वान्नापौरुषेयत्वप्रसंगः। औपनिषदास्तु पुरुषास्वातन्त्र्यमात्रं वेदस्यापौरुषेयत्वमभिप्रयन्ति। श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासप्रामाण्यवशात्सृष्टिप्रलयौ अंगीकृत्य शास्त्रयोनित्वाधिकरणन्यायेन नित्यस्यापि वेदस्य "अस्य महतो भूतस्य" इति श्रुतिवशाद्योनिं परमात्मानमौपनिषदा वर्णयन्ति। तेऽपि वेदेषु परमात्मनः स्वातन्त्र्यं नानुमन्यन्ते। "धाता यथा पूर्वमकल्पयत्" "यः कल्पस्स कल्पपूर्वः" इत्यादि श्रुत्या "समाननामरूपत्वा"दिति न्यायेन च जगत्सृष्टिमिव वेदसृष्टिमपि पूर्वकल्पसदृशीमेव सिद्धान्तयन्ति। भट्टकुमारिलपादानां चौपनिषदाभिमतं वेदस्य पुरुषास्वातन्त्र्यलक्षणमपौरुषेयत्वमनुमतमिति "यत्नतः प्रतिषेध्या नः पुरुषाणां स्वतन्त्रता" इति तदुक्तयावगम्यते।

वेदप्रामाण्यविचारः —

यतो नास्ति वेदानां स्वबोध्यार्थबोधने प्रमाणान्तरापेक्षा, ततस्ते स्वत एव प्रमाणं भवन्ति। उक्तं च माधवाचार्यैः सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे जैमिनिमतप्रस्तावे "वेदवादिनः प्रमाणत्वं स्वतः प्राहुः, परतश्चाप्रमाणता" इति। कर्तुरस्मरणाद्वेदानामपौरुषेयत्वमुक्तम्। अत एव स्वतः प्रामाण्यमपि तस्यावर्जनीयम्। शब्दनिष्ठं स्वतः प्रामाण्यं नाम–अनधिगताबाधितार्थबोधकत्वम्। ज्ञाननिष्ठन्तु अनधिगताबाधितार्थविषयकज्ञानत्वम्। वेदस्यापौरुषेयत्वेनैव नित्यत्वमपि गतार्थमिति न पुनरत्र विचार्यते, "अत एव च नित्यत्वम्" इति देवताधिकरणे बादरायणोक्तेः। अत एव पुरुषावलम्बिनो दोषास्तेषु न प्रसज्यन्ते। तदुक्तं बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्वार्तिके —

प्रामाण्यं वेदवाक्यानां न च मानान्तराश्रयात्।
अक्षादेरपि मानत्वं यथोक्तादेव कारणात् ।। इति

वेदशब्दस्य ग्रन्थवाचकत्वं स्वावयवसमुदायवाचकत्वं च अजहत्स्वार्थलक्षणया भवति।

पूर्वं ऋगादयो वेदा एकराशिभावेन स्थितत्वात्तेषां यजुर्वेद इति संज्ञा आसीदित्यवगम्यते। अनन्तरं श्रीव्यासेन यज्ञप्रकरणानुरोधेन विभजनात् ऋगादिसंज्ञा वेदस्य समभूवन्निति वायुपुराण वचनात्प्रतीयते। तदुक्तम् —

एक एवासीद्यजुर्वेदस्तं चतुर्धा व्यकल्पयत्।
चातुर्होत्रमभूत्तस्मिन् तेन यज्ञमकल्पयत् ।।

आध्वर्यवं यजुर्भिस्तु ऋग्भिर्वै हौत्रमेव च।
औद्गात्रं सामभिश्चक्रे ब्रह्मत्वं चाप्यथर्वभिः ।।

ब्रह्मत्वमकरोद्यज्ञे वेदेनाथर्वणेन तु।
ततस्स ऋचमुद्धृत्य ऋग्वेदं समकल्पयत् ।।

होतृकं कल्प्यते तेन यज्ञवाहं जगद्धितम्।
सामभिस्सामवेदं च तेनौद्गात्रमरोचयत्।
राज्ञस्त्वथर्ववेदेन सर्वकर्माण्यकारयत् ।।

इत्यादि । वेदो हि द्विविधः मन्त्ररूपो ब्राह्मणरूपश्चेति । "मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेय" मिति कात्यायनादिभिस्स्मरणात् । मन्त्रस्वरूपं कातीयश्रौतसूत्रप्रथमाध्याये "ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि निगदा मन्त्राः" इति सूत्रे सम्यङ्निरुपितम् । मन्त्राश्च चतुर्ष्वपि वेदेषु संदृश्यन्ते । मन्त्राणां यज्ञे प्रयोगकालिकपदार्थस्मारकतया विनियोग इत्याद्यन्यत्र विस्तरः ।

एवं ब्राह्मणभागोऽपि विविधः । प्रतिज्ञापरिशिष्टे कात्यायनेन ब्राह्मणं दशधा दर्शितम् । "विधिर्निन्दाप्रशंसाध्यात्ममधियज्ञमधिदैवतमधिभूतमनुवचनं परकृतिः पुराकल्पस्सृष्टिरिति ब्राह्मणम्" इति । मन्त्रव्याख्यानरूपं ब्राह्मणं भवति । तद्यथा "पवित्रेकरातीत्यत्र" "पवित्रे-स्थौ वैष्णव्यौ" इति विनियुक्तं मन्त्रमादाय "यज्ञो वै विष्णुर्यज्ञियेस्य इत्येवैतदाह" इति तस्य व्याख्यानं भवति । एवमन्यदप्युदाहार्यम् । मन्त्रब्राहृणे उभे अपि वेदपदवाच्ये भवतः बहुप्रमाणो-पलब्धेः । न तु मन्त्रा एव वेदपदवाच्याः ।

शुक्लयजुर्वेदाविर्भावः —

योगीश्वरो भगवान् श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यो हिरण्यगर्भात्मकस्यादित्यस्यानुग्रहाच्छुक्लयजुर्वेदं प्रकाशयामास । शतपथब्राह्मणे–" आदित्यानीमानि शुक्लानि यजूंषि वाजसनेयेन याज्ञवल्क्ये-नाख्यायन्ते" इति श्रुतत्वात् । वराहपुराणे वेदाध्ययने संप्रादायद्वयं प्रतिपादितं दृश्यते । एको ब्रह्मसंप्रदायो परश्चादित्यसंप्रदाय इति । कल्पादौ भगवता श्रीविष्णुना शंखासुरापरनामानं हयग्रीवदैत्यं संहृत्य तेनापहृतो वेदो ब्रह्मणे प्रददे । ब्रह्मा च तं द्वेधा विभज्यैकं भागं भगवत्यादित्ये संस्थाप्यान्यं च वसिष्टांगिरोमरीच्यत्रिप्रभृतिभ्योऽध्ययनविधिना प्रायच्छत् । तेऽपि स्वपुत्रपौत्रशिष्यप्रशिष्येभ्यः प्रायच्छन् । ततो द्वापरान्ते भगवान् वेदव्यासोऽल्पप्रज्ञानाल्पशवतींश्च लोकाननुजिघृक्षुस्सन् वेदमेकमृगादिरूपेण चतुर्धा व्यस्य क्रमात्पैलवैशंपायनजैमिनिसुमन्तूनध्यापया-मास । तैश्च शाखाप्रभेदादिना परंपरया विस्तारं नीता वेदाः । सैषा वेदचतुष्टयी ब्रह्मसंप्रदाय इति प्रसिद्धि प्राप । योगीश्वरो भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि ब्रह्मपरंपरायामस्यामेव वर्तमानस्सन् महर्ष-विदग्धशाकल्यादृग्वेदमध्यगीष्ट । केनापि कारणेन ततोऽधीतं वेदं तत्याज । ततोऽयं महर्षिवैशंपायन-मुपेत्य यजुर्वेदमधीतवान् । दैवदुर्विलासादत्रापि गुरुणा सह विवादे संवृत्ते तदधीतं वेदं त्यक्तवान् । ततोऽयं श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यो मानुषं गुरुं नोर्पमीति निश्चयपूर्वकं चतुर्विंशलक्षसंख्याकगायत्रीमन्त्रपुरश्च-रणादितपस्यया सुदृढया भगवन्तं त्रयीमयमादित्यं तोषयित्वा तस्माच्चतुरो वेदानधीतवान् । गुर्वनुज्ञया तान् शाखाप्रशाखाभेदेन विस्तारमनीनयत् ।

सैषा वेदचतुष्टयी आदित्यसंप्रदाय इति प्रथामापेदे । तदुक्तम् ।

ब्रह्मणस्संप्रदायोऽयं व्याससन्दर्शितोऽभवत् ।
विभक्तस्यैव वेदस्य संप्रदायो द्विधा मतः ।
ब्रह्मणस्संप्रदायस्तु आदित्यस्य तथा मतः ।।

अयातयामसंज्ञोऽयं कृत्स्नकर्मप्रकाशकः ।
ब्रह्मणस्संप्रदायस्तु मिश्रत्वान्न तथा मतः ।। इति

न केवलं यजूंष्येव याज्ञवल्क्येन रवेस्समधिगतानि, अपि तु चत्वारोऽपि वेदाः समधिगताः । तदुक्तं स्कान्दे —

स तथेति प्रतिज्ञाय प्रविश्यादित्यवाजिनः ।
कर्णेऽपठत्ततो वेदान् चतुरोऽपि च तन्मुखात् ।। इति ।

आत्मपुराणे च इत्युक्तो भगवान् सूर्यो याज्ञवल्क्यं महामुनिम् ।
वेदान् षडंगसहितान् रहस्यादिसमन्वितान् ।
चतुरोऽध्यापयामास स्थापयित्वा निजे रथे ।। इति

श्रीमच्छंकरभगवत्पादाश्च – "अर्थाच्चतुर्वेदो याज्ञवल्क्यः" इति वर्णयन्ति ।

शुक्लकृष्णत्वे कारणानि —

आदित्यसंप्रदायः शुक्लः ब्रह्मसंप्रदायः कृष्ण इत्यभिधीयते । मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोः पार्थक्येनाभिधानं शुक्लत्वहेतुः । तयोर्व्यामिश्रत्वं कृष्णत्वहेतुः । तदुक्तं काण्वसंहिताभाष्योपक्रमे सायणाचार्यैः —

प्रवर्तितः खण्डशस्तैर्न सम्यग्बुद्ध्यते नृभिः ।
आध्वर्यवं क्वचिद्धौत्रं क्वचिदित्यवस्थया ।।

बुद्धिमालिन्यहेतुत्वाद्यजुः कृष्णमितीरितम् ।
याज्ञवल्क्यस्ततस्सूर्यमाराध्यास्मादधीतवान् ।।

व्यवस्थितप्रकरणं यजुः शुक्लं तदीर्यते ।
पौराणिकीं कथामेतां वेदव्याख्यान आदरात् ।। इति ।

चरणव्यूहभाष्यकारैस्तु अन्यत्कारणमुक्तम्–तद्यथा "एतत्सखिलं सशुक्रियं (ऋचं वाचमिति षट्त्रिंशदध्यायोक्तचतुर्विंशतिऋगात्मकसहितं) मध्याह्ने शुक्लवर्णेन सूर्येण दत्तं तच्छुक्लं यजुः परिसंख्यातम्" इति । वेदोपाकरणे चतुर्दशीयुक्तपौर्णमासीग्रहणात् शुक्लं यजुः, तैत्तिरीयकैर्वेदोपाकरणे औदयिकपर्वग्रहणात् (अर्थात्कृष्णप्रतिपद्विद्धपौर्णमासीग्रहणात्) कृष्णं यजुरिति च तत्रैवोक्तम् । आत्मपुराणे च वान्त्या च भक्षणेनापि कृष्णान्यासन्यजूंष्यपि इति कारणान्तरमुक्तम् । देवीभागवते तु यातयामत्वायातयामत्वे यजुषां कृष्णत्वशुक्लत्वयोर्हेतुत्वमुक्तम् ।

अयातयामानि तु भानुगुप्तानि
अन्यानि जातानि तु नीरसानि ।
यजूंषि तेषामथ याज्ञवल्क्यो
ह्ययातयामानि रवेरवाप ।। इति

येन केनापि हेतुना यजुर्वेदः शुक्लः कृष्ण इति द्वैविध्यं समजनि ।

शाखाभेदाः —

यजुर्वेदस्य शाखा एकशतमिति महाभाष्यमुक्तिकोपनिषच्चरणव्यूहादिग्रन्थेभ्योऽवगम्यते । तत्र शुक्लस्य यजुषः पञ्चदश शाखाः स्मृताः कृष्णस्य यजुषः षडशीतिः शाखा उदाहृताः । शाखा नाम वेदैकदेशः । चरणव्यूहे शुक्लयजुश्शाखानां पञ्चदशानामपि नामानि निर्दिष्टानि । तानि यथा—काण्वाः (१) माध्यन्दिनाः (२) शापेया (३) तापनीयाः (४) कपोलाः (५) पौण्ड्रवत्साः (६) आवटिकाः (७) परमावटिकाः (८) पाराशर्याः (९) वैनधेयाः (१०) बौधेयाः (११) औधेयाः (१२) गालवाः (१३) बैजवापाः (१४) जाबालाः (१५) इति । एतासु पञ्चदशशाखासु इदानीं काण्वीया माध्यन्दिनीया चेति द्वे संहिते उपलभ्येते । अन्यास्त्रयोदश शाखास्त्वध्ययनतो ग्रन्थतश्च विलुप्ताः । परन्तु तद्गता मन्त्रा केचित् निरुक्तादिग्रन्थे समुल्लिखिता दृश्यन्ते ।

निरुक्ते "वायुर्वात्वा मनुर्वात्वा गन्धर्वाः" इति मन्त्रः वाजपेये अश्वयोजने विनियुक्तः। शुक्लयजुर्गतत्वेन च तत्रोक्तः। काण्वसंहितायां माध्यन्दिनसंहितायां वा एतदानुपूर्व्यादयं मन्त्रो नास्ति। ततोऽनुमीयते इतरस्यां कस्यांचिच्छाखायां स्यादिति। किंच "नाशे च" इति पारस्कर प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रभाष्ये "दुःनाशं दुर्णाशं," "दुर्णाशं सख्यं तव" इति शापेयशाखावाक्यमनन्तदेव उदाजहार। एवं बहून्युदाहरणानि प्रदर्शयितुं शक्यन्ते।

शुक्लयजुषां संहितावद् ब्राह्मणान्यपि पञ्चदश भवन्ति। तेषां सर्वेषां "शतपथब्राह्मण"मिति संज्ञा भवति। यथा सर्वासां संहितानां "वाजसनेयी संहिता" इति संज्ञा भवति तथा। अपि च एतेषां संहिताब्राह्मणानां स्वस्वशाखाप्रदर्शकमन्यदपि नाम काण्वसंहिता काण्वब्राह्मणं माध्यन्दिन-संहिता माध्यन्दिनब्राह्मणमित्यादिरूपेण वर्तते। तदुक्तं काण्वसंहिताभाष्योपक्रमे सायणाचार्यैः—

"यद्यप्ययं वेदः स्वयंभूपरमेष्ठ्यादिपरंपरया प्राप्त आदित्यशिष्येण याज्ञवल्क्येन बहुभ्यः शिष्येभ्य उपदिष्टः, तथापि महता तपसाराधितस्येश्वरस्यानुग्रहात् कण्वसंबन्धितयैव लोके प्रख्यायते। तमेतं काण्ववेदमधीयते विदन्ति वेति व्युत्पत्त्या कण्वशिष्यप्रशिष्यादिपरंपरया वर्तमानास्सर्वेऽपि काण्वा इत्युच्यन्ते। एवं जाबालादिषु द्रष्टव्यम्।" इति। ब्राह्मणेष्वपि काण्वशतपथब्राह्मणं माध्यन्दिनशतपथब्राह्मणमिति द्वे एव ब्राह्मणे इदानीमुपलभ्येते।

अन्यानि ब्राह्मणानि संहितावदध्ययनतो ग्रन्थतश्च विलुप्तानीत्युन्नीयते। शुक्लयजुः पञ्चदशशाखासु काण्वमाध्यन्दिनशाखाद्वयं प्रधानतमं भवति। अवशिष्टासु त्रयोदशसु काश्चन शाखाः काण्वानुगाः काश्चन माध्यन्दिनशाखानुगाः। पञ्चदशसु शाखासु काण्वशाखा प्रथमा भवति। उक्तं च चरणव्यूहभाष्ये – "वाजसनेयवेदस्य प्रथमा काण्वसंज्ञिता" इति।

शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य संहितापदवाच्यो मन्त्रभागः पार्थक्येन ब्राह्मणभागाद्विद्यते। स च काण्व माध्यन्दिनसंहितयोश्चत्वारिंशदध्यायात्मकः। तत्र संहितायां प्रत्यध्यायं प्रतिपाद्यविषया प्रदर्श्यन्ते।

अध्यायसंख्या	विषयः
१ —	दर्शपूर्णमासौ
३	अन्वाधानाग्निहोत्राग्न्युपस्थानचातुर्मास्यानि
४ — ९	अग्निष्टोमः
१०	वाजपेयः
११	राजसूयः
१२ — २०	अग्निचयनम्
२१ — २३	सौत्रामणी
२४ — २७	अश्वमेधः
२८ — ३३	तत्र तत्र विप्रकीर्णा लिंगविनियोज्या अनारभ्याधीता मन्त्राः
३४ — ३५	पुरुषमेधः
३६ — ३९	प्रवर्ग्यः
४०	ब्रह्मविद्या

शाखयोरनयोः प्रमेयनिरूपणक्रमे समानेऽपि कियानपि भेदो वर्तते। अध्यायसमाप्तौ, मन्त्राणां पूर्वापरीभावे न्यूनाधिकभावे च भेदो दृश्यते। "यस्ते प्राणः" इति मन्त्रः काण्वशाखाया-मस्ति, माध्यन्दिनशाखायां नास्ति। एवं "अंगिरसो नः" इति मन्त्रः माध्यन्दिनशाखायामस्ति, काण्वशाखायां नास्ति इत्येवमादि।

इमे द्वे शाखे एवावलम्ब्यान्यशाखा उपसंहृत्य च भगवान् कात्यायनः श्रौतसूत्राण्यरीरचत् । एतच्च "ममाग्ने वर्च" इति सूत्रव्याख्यानावसरे स्पष्टमभिहितं कर्काचार्यैः— "शाखाद्वयमधिकृत्य तात्पर्येणानुप्रवृत्तमाचार्येण" इत्यादिना ।

काण्वमाध्यन्दिनशतपथब्राह्मणयोर्विषयक्रमनिरुपणम ।

काण्वमाध्यन्दिनसंहिते दर्शपूर्णमासयागविचारेण प्रक्रमेते । परन्तु शतपथब्राह्मणारम्भो द्वयोरपि भिन्नो विद्यते । काण्वशतपथब्राह्मणारम्भोऽन्वाधानमधिकृतो वर्तते, माध्यन्दिनशतपथब्राह्मणारम्भश्च दर्शपूर्णमासयागम् । एवं च काण्वमाध्यन्दिनशतपथयोः प्रथमद्वितीययोः काण्डयोः परस्परं वैपरीत्यं भवति । अन्यत्सर्वं प्रायशः समानं दृश्यते । विषयक्रमनिरूपणमपि क्वचिदुभयोर्व्यत्यस्तमवलोक्यते । काण्वशतपथे सप्तदश काण्डानि सन्ति, माध्यन्दिनशतपथे तु चतुर्दश । तद्यथा —

काण्वशतपथब्राह्मणरीत्या काण्डादिकम् —

१. एकपात् काण्डम् २. हविर्यज्ञकाण्डम् ३. उद्धारिकाण्डम् ४. अध्वरकाण्डम् ५. ग्रहकाण्डम् ६. वाजपेयकाण्डम् ७. राजसूयकाण्डम् ८. उखासंभरणकाण्डम् ९. हस्तिघटकाण्डम् १०. चितिकाण्डम् ११. साग्निचितिकाण्डम् १२. अग्निरहस्यकाण्डम् १३ अष्टाध्यायीकाण्डम् १४. मध्यमकाण्डम् १५. अश्वमेधकाण्डम् १६. प्रवर्ग्यकाण्डम् १७. बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत्

माध्यन्दिनशतपथब्राह्मणरीत्या काण्डादिकम् —

१. हविर्यज्ञकाण्डम् २. एकपादिकाकाण्डम् ३. अध्वरकाण्डम् ४. ग्रहकाण्डम् ५. सवकाण्डम् ६. उखासंभरणकाण्डम् ७. हस्तिघटकाण्डम् ८. चितिकाण्डम् ९. संचितिकाण्डम् १०. अग्निरहस्यकाण्डम् ११. अष्टाध्यायीकाण्डम् १२. मध्यमकाण्डम् १३. अश्वमेधकाण्डम् १४. बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत् इति ।।

काण्वमाध्यन्दिनशतपथयोः प्रतिकाण्डं विषयनिरूपणक्रमभेदः तयोस्संक्षेपतः स्थूलविषयसूचीप्रदर्शनेन बोद्धुं शक्येतेति विषयसूचीं प्रदर्शयामः ।

काण्वशतपथब्राह्मणे —

काण्डांकाः

१. आधानपुनराधाने, अग्निहोत्रं, आग्रयणं, पिण्डपितृयज्ञः, दाक्षायणयज्ञः, उपस्थानादि, चातुर्मास्ययागः
२. दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिः
३. अग्निहोत्रसंबन्धी अर्थवादः, दर्शपूर्णमासीयोऽर्थवादश्च
४. सोमयागदीक्षा अभिषवादिकर्म च
५. सोमयागः, सवनत्रयगतं कर्म, षोडशीप्रभृति सोमसंस्थाः, द्वादशाह्नयागः त्रिरात्राहीनदक्षिणा, चतुस्त्रिंशद्धोमः, सत्रधर्माश्च
६. वाजपेययागः सपरिकरः
७. राजसूययागस्सपरिकरः
८. उखासभरणम्

९–१२. चयनक्रतुः

१३. आधानकालः, पथिकृदिष्टिः, प्रयाजानुमन्त्रणम्, शंयुवाकः, पत्नीसंयाजः, ब्रह्म-चर्यम्, दर्शपूर्णमासशेषः, पशुबन्धश्च

१४. दीक्षाक्रमः, पृष्ठ्यभिप्लवादिसौत्रामणीयागः, अग्निहोत्रप्रायश्चित्तम्, मृतकाग्नि-होत्रम्

१५. अश्वमेधः

१६. सांगोपांगं प्रवर्ग्यं कर्म

१७. ब्रह्मविद्या

माध्यन्दिनशतपथब्राह्मणे —

१. दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिः

२. आधानपुनराधाने, अग्निहोत्रं, उपस्थानम्, प्रवत्स्यदुपस्थानम्, आगतोपस्थानादि, पिण्डपितृयज्ञः, आग्रयणम्, दाक्षायणयज्ञः, चातुर्मास्ययागः

३. सोमयागो दीक्षाभिषवपर्यन्तः

४. सोमयागे सवनत्रयगतं कर्म, षोडशीप्रभृतिसोमसंस्थाः, द्वादशाहयागः, त्रिरात्राहीन-दक्षिणा, सत्रधर्माः

५. वाजपेययागो राजसूययागश्च

६. उखासंभरणम्, विष्णुक्रमः, वात्सप्रोपस्थानम्, वनीवाहनक

७. चयनयागः, गार्हपत्यचयनम्, निर्ऋतिचयनम्, अग्निक्षेत्रसंस्कारः दर्भस्तंबाद्य-पस्यासादनान्तं कर्म

८. प्राणभृत्सादनादि चयनसमाप्तिपर्यन्तम्

९. शतरुद्रीयहोमादि. धिष्ण्यचयनं, पुनश्चितिः, चित्युपस्थानम्

१०. चितिसंपत्तिः, चयनस्तुतिः, चित्यपक्षपुच्छविचारः, चित्याग्निवेदिमानम्, लोकादि-रूपेणाग्नेरुपासनम्, संप्रदायप्रवर्तकऋषिवंश इत्यादि

११. आधानकालः, पथिकृदिष्टिः, अभ्युदितेष्टिः, दर्शपूर्णमासाग्निहोत्रार्थवादः, ब्रह्म-चारिणः कर्तव्यम्, मित्रविन्देष्टिः, चातुर्मास्यार्थवादः, पञ्च महायज्ञाः, स्वाध्याय-प्रशंसाप्रायश्चित्तिः, अध्यात्मविद्या, पशुबन्धप्रशंसा, षड्ढोतृहोमः इत्यादि

१२. सत्रदीक्षाक्रमः, सत्राणि, गवामयनम्, अग्निहोत्रप्रायश्चित्तम्, सौत्रामणीयागः, मृतकाग्निहोत्रादि

१३. अश्वमेधः – तद्गतप्रायश्चित्तम्, पुरुषमेधः, सर्वमेधः, पितृमेधश्च

१४. प्रवर्ग्यकर्म, ब्रह्मविद्या च इति

शतपथब्राह्मणसञ्ज्ञान्वर्थक्यम् -

शताध्यायवत्वाच्छतपथब्राह्मणमिति संज्ञान्वर्थकी भवति शतं पन्थानो मार्गाः (अध्यायाः) यत्र तच्छतपथमिति तदनुगुणा व्युत्पत्तिः संभवति। उक्तं च स्पष्टतया भाषिकसूत्रभाष्ये "शतपथवत्ताण्डिभाल्लविनां ब्राह्मणस्वराः" इत्येतत्सूत्रव्याख्यानावसरे "शतपथश्चशताध्यायैः" इति। यद्यपि काण्वशतपथब्राह्मणे चतुरुत्तरशताध्यायास्सन्ति, तथाप्यधिकं तु प्रविष्टं न तद्धानिरिति न्यायेन तस्यापि शतपथसंज्ञा निर्वोढव्या भवति। शतपथसंज्ञायास्तत्रापि रूढत्वात्।

अपि च कात्यायनाचार्यैः "षष्टिपथोऽशीतिपथोऽनवद्यस्संमितः पञ्चदशपथः" इति सूत्रेण शतपथब्राह्मणस्यावान्तरसंज्ञाः प्रतिपादिताः । तत्र षष्ट्यध्यायसम्मितो भागः षष्टिपथः, अशीत्यध्यायसम्मितो भागोऽशीतिपथः, पञ्चदशाध्यायसम्मितो भागः पञ्चदशपथ इति तदर्थः । तत्र प्रथमकाण्डादारभ्य द्वादशकाण्डीयषडध्यायपर्यन्तमशीत्यध्यायास्सन्ति । तेन एतत्प्रकरणपर्यन्तस्य ग्रन्थस्याशीतिपथसंज्ञा युक्तैव । प्रथमकाण्डादारभ्य नवमकाण्डपर्यन्तं षष्ट्यध्यायास्सन्ति । तेनैतत्प्रकरणपर्यन्तस्य ग्रन्थस्य षष्टिपथसंज्ञा युक्तैव भवति । प्रथमद्वितीयकाण्डयोः पञ्चदशाध्यायाः सन्ति । तेनैतत्प्रकरणस्य पञ्चदशपथसंज्ञा सार्थका भवति । आदित आरभ्य गणनया तु समग्रो गन्थः शतपथसंज्ञको भवतीति ज्ञेयम् । शतपथब्राह्मणाध्ययनमधुना लुप्तमेव दृश्यते । उत्तरभारते यत्र कुत्रचिद्दूरल्पेन शतपथाध्येतारस्सन्तीति श्रूयते । तत्रापि समग्रं शतपथब्राह्मणं कण्ठस्थीकृतं तैरिति न वक्तुं पार्यते । तत्तत्काण्डेषूपयुक्ताः केचित्प्रपाठका मण्डलब्राह्मणादिसदृशास्तैः कण्ठस्थीकृताः स्युरेत्येव तर्क्यते । पूर्वं तु शतपथाध्ययनपरिपाटी संपूर्णा आसीदिति विज्ञायते । "क्रतुकथादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक्" इति पाणिनिसूत्रस्थेन "शतषष्टेष्टिकन् वाच्यः" शतशब्दात् षष्टिशब्दाच्च परो यः पथिन् शब्दः तदन्ताट्टिकन् वाच्यः इति वार्तिकेन टिकन् प्रत्यये विहिते शतपथमधीते शतपथिकः षष्टिपथमधीते षष्टिपथिकः इत्युदाहरणेन पूर्वं शतपथाध्ययनं संपूणमासीदित्यवगम्यते । अधुनापि सस्वरं संपूर्णशतपथाध्ययनं यथा स्यात्तथा प्रयत्न आस्थेय इति विज्ञापयामः ।

शतपथब्राह्मणस्य विशेषस्वरूपम् —

पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रे —

हेतुर्निवचनं निन्दा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः ।
परक्रिया पुराकल्पः व्यवधारणकल्पना ।
उपमानं दशैते तु विधयो ब्राह्मणस्य तु ॥

इति यथा दशधा ब्राह्मणं विभक्तं, तथा कात्यायनेनापि प्रतिज्ञापरिशिष्टे दशधा तद्विभक्तम् । तेनैव कात्यायनेन पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे "विधिर्विधेयस्तर्कश्च वेदः" विधितर्कात्मकौ द्वौ भागौ इति दर्शितम् ।

तत्र विधिर्नाम विधायकं ब्राह्मणम् । विधेयः विधायका मन्त्राः । तर्को नामार्थवादः । कात्यायनेन दशधा विभक्तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य शतपथब्राह्मणे क्रमेणोदाहरणानि प्रदर्श्यन्ते ।

१. विधिः – 'आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालः पुराडाशो भवति' इति ।
२. निन्दा – तदुह स्मापि बर्कुर्वार्ष्णो माषान्मे पचत न वा एतेषां हविर्गृह्णन्तीति तदुह न तथा कुर्यादिति ।
३. प्रशंसा – अग्निर्वै देवानां मृदुहृदयतमः, यं वै मृदुहृदयतमं मन्येत तमुपधावेत् तस्मादग्नय एव इति ।
४. अध्यात्मम् – अथाध्यात्मम् । प्राणो वा अर्कः । तस्यान्नमेवकम् । अन्नं हि प्राणायकम् । इति नु एवार्कस्य इति ।
५. अधियज्ञम् – अथाधियज्ञम् । यदेवाग्नावन्नमुपधीयते, तदन्नम् । या आपस्तत्पानम् । परिश्रित एव श्रीः इति ।
६. अधिदेवतम् – अथाधिदेवतम् । या वै सा वागग्निरेव सः । यत्तच्चक्षुरसौ स आदित्यः । इति
७. अधिभूतम् – तस्मादाहुर्यावती वेदिस्तावती पृथिवी । इति

८. अनुवचनम् – अग्निर्वै हिमस्य भेषजमिनि ।

९. परकृतिः – पुरुषो ह नारायणोऽकामयत इत्यादिः ।

१०. पुराकल्पः – एतेन हेन्द्रेतो दैवापः शौनकः जनमेजयं पारिक्षितं याजयाञ्चकार इति ।

संहिताब्राह्मणान्तर्गतोपनिषद्द्वयम् —

शुक्लयजुस्संहितान्ते ब्रह्मविद्याप्रधाना ईशावास्योपनिषदास्ते । एवं शतपथब्राह्मणान्ते चेशावास्योपनिषद्विवरणरूपा बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदस्ति । बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि आगमप्रधानं मधुकाण्डमाद्यम् उपपत्तिप्रधानं याज्ञवल्क्यमुनिकाण्डं द्वितीयम् । उभयशेषभूतं खिलकाण्डं तृतीयमिति काण्डत्रयं वर्तते । ग्रन्थतोऽर्थतश्च महत्त्वाद्विस्तरशो ब्रह्मविद्यायाः प्रतिपादकत्वाच्चास्या बृहत्त्वम् । अरण्येऽनूच्यमानत्वादारण्यकत्वम् । अस्या उपनिषदः काण्वपाठ विद्यमाने आदिमे द्वे ब्राह्मणे माध्यन्दिनानां पाठे न स्तः । ते उभे माध्यन्दिनपाठे दशमकाण्डान्ते पठिते इति वैलक्षण्यं द्रष्टव्यम् । पौर्वापर्यरूपं वैलक्षण्यमपि द्वयोरनयोरस्ति । तच्चाध्ययनत एवावगन्तव्यम् । प्रतिपाद्यांशस्तु द्वयोस्समान एव । सर्वासूपनिषत्सु इयमुपनिषत्प्रधानतया विलसति । श्रीशंकरभगवत्पादविरचितं भाष्यन्तु काण्वपाठाश्रितमिति सर्वविश्रुतम् ।

संहिताब्राह्मणयोः स्वरभेदः —

वेदस्याध्ययनमध्यापनं च स्वरमपेक्षते । अन्यथा "मन्त्रो हीनस्स्वरतो वर्णतो वे"ति श्रुत्या प्रत्यवायप्रतिपादनात् । स्वरसमुदाय एव वेदानां वेदत्वावेदकः । यत्र च तदभावस्तत्र न वेदत्वम् । तत्र शुक्लयजुस्संहितायाश्चातुस्वर्यं पारस्करप्रातिशाख्ये विस्तरशो विवेचितम् । शतपथब्राह्मणस्य स्वरसंस्कारनियमार्थं तेनैव कात्यायनेन प्रणीतं भाषिकसूत्रं विद्यते । प्रातिशाख्यस्यादिमे "स्वरसंस्कारयोश्छन्दसि नियमः" इति सूत्रे मन्त्रब्राह्मणोभयसाधारणछन्दःपदोपादानात्, भाषिकसूत्रस्यादिमसूत्रे "अथ ब्राह्मणस्वरसंस्कारनियमः" इति वेदैकदेशब्राह्मणपदोपादानस्वारस्याच्चैतत् भाषिकसूत्रं प्रातिशाख्यपरिशिष्टमिति प्रतीयते । एवं च प्रातिशाख्याध्ययनानन्तरं भाषिकसूत्रमध्येतव्यमिति सिद्ध्यति । भाषिकसूत्रं च काण्वादिपञ्चदशशाखासाधारणं भवति । भाषिकसूत्रे च शतपथब्राह्मणस्योदात्तानुदात्तात्मकं द्वैस्वर्यमेवोक्तम् । न पुनस्संहितावच्चातुस्वर्यम् । तदुक्तमनन्तदेवेन भाषिकसूत्रभाष्ये —

उदात्तस्वर्यते नीचो नीच उच्चस्वरो भवेत् ।
ब्राह्मणस्य स्वरो ह्येष ज्ञायते वेदपारगैः ।। इति

ताण्डिभाल्लविनामपि ब्राह्मणस्वरश्शतपथस्वरवदेवेति "शतपथवत्ताण्डिभाल्लविनां ब्राह्मणस्वरः" इति भाषिकगतसूत्रेण विज्ञायते । कृष्णयजुर्ब्राह्मणस्य तु मन्त्रतुल्यस्वरत्वं तत्रैव "मन्त्रस्वरवद् ब्राह्मणस्वरश्चरकाणां" इति सूत्रेणाभिहितम् । एवं च संहितायां यस्स्वर उदात्तस्स ब्राह्मणेऽनुदात्तो भवति । यश्चानुदात्तस्संहितायां स ब्राह्मणे उदात्तो भवतीति तात्पर्यं बोध्यम् । श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्येन प्रवर्तितस्यादित्यसंप्रदायस्य श्रीकात्यायनाचार्येण श्रौतस्मार्तसूत्रतत्परिशिष्टादिविविधग्रन्थप्रणयनद्वारा परिपोषणं कृत्वा विस्तारः कृतः ।

शुक्लयजुर्वेदाविर्भावकालः —

वेदानामनादित्वमभ्युगच्छतां प्राचां मते वेदानामुत्पत्तिकालो नाभ्युगम्यते । एवं नामरूपात्मकप्रपञ्चस्यापि । उत्पत्तिर्नामाविर्भाव एव । विनाशो नाम तिरोभाव एव । वेदानां,

जगतश्च प्रलये तिरोभावस्सृष्टयादावाविर्भाव एव स्वीक्रियते । तयोरभिव्यञ्जकः परमेश्वरः । तदनुग्रहादृषीणामपि तदभिव्यञ्जकत्वम् । तदुक्तं श्रीशंकरभगवत्पादैः —

वेदोऽनादिरमुष्य व्यञ्जक ईशः स्वयं प्रकाशात्मा ।
तदभिव्यक्तिमुदीक्ष्य प्रोक्तोऽसौ सूरिभिः प्रमाणमिति ।। इति

एतेन वेदानां सृष्ट्यारम्भकाले अभिव्यक्तत्वमर्थात्सिद्धं भवति । यः कालो वेदानामुत्पत्ति-कालत्वेनाधुनिकैरंगीक्रियते स प्राचीनैरभिव्यञ्जककालत्वेन स्वीक्रियते । एतदेव वैलक्षण्यमर्वाचीनानां प्राचीनानां चेति प्रथममवधेयम् । श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यमुनेः काल एव शुक्लयजुर्वेदाविर्भावकालः । श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यश्च ६००० वर्षात्पूर्वं संजात इति ज्ञायते । वेदव्याससमानकालता सर्वथा तस्य मुनेरुररीकर्तव्या भवति । तथा च शुक्लयजुराविर्भावसमयः ६००० वर्षात्प्रागिति निश्चेतव्यः - अर्थात् द्वापरयुगमिति सिद्धयति । न वयं वेदकालचर्चायां निपुणा भवामः । विशेषतो वेदकाल निर्णयः कालविमर्शकैराधुनिकैः कर्तव्यो भवति ।

शुक्लयजुर्वेदभाष्यकाराः —

शुक्लयजुस्संहिता चत्वारिंशदध्यायोपेतेति पूर्वमुक्तम् । तत्र काण्वसंहितायाः पूर्वविंशतेस्सायणाचार्यैर्भाष्यं कृतम् । नोत्तरविंशतेः । अनन्तदेवेनोत्तरविंशतेः कृतं भाष्यमधुनोपलभ्यते । तत्र चारम्भे —

व्याख्याता कण्वशाखीयसंहितापूर्वविंशतिः ।
माधवाचार्यवर्येण स्पष्टीकृत्य न चोत्तरा ।।
अतस्तां व्याकरिष्येऽहमनन्ताचार्यनामकः ।।

इति अनन्ताचार्यवाक्यादवगम्यते । काण्वशतपथब्राह्मणस्य तु भाष्यं नोपलभ्यते । माध्यन्दिन-शाखारीत्या संहिताया उव्वटमहीधराभ्यां प्रणीतं भाष्यमस्ति । माध्यन्दिनशतपथब्राह्मणस्य सायणाचार्यकृत भाष्यं मुद्रितमुपलभ्यते । एवं हरस्वामिप्रणीतं भाष्यमपि तस्य विद्यते । परं तु समग्रं नोपलभ्यते ।

सायणाचार्यस्य महिमा सर्वेषां वैदिकानां विदितचर एव स्यात् । स्वज्येष्ठभ्रात्रा प्रेरितैस्तैवैदिकमार्गप्रतिष्ठापकस्य हरिहरापरनामकबुक्कमहाराजस्याज्ञया चतुर्णां वेदानां भाष्याणि विलिख्य तानि स्वज्येष्ठभ्रातुरादरार्थं "माधवीयानी"ति विशेषणेन भूषयित्वा प्रथां प्रापितानीति

स प्राह नृपतिं राजन् सायणार्यो ममानुजः ।
सर्वं वेत्त्येष वेदानां व्याख्यातृत्वे नियुज्यताम् ।।

इत्युक्तो माधवार्येण वीरबुक्कमहीपतिः ।
अन्वशात्सायणाचार्यं वेदार्थस्य प्रकाशने ।।

इति श्लोकाभ्यां प्रतीयते । तेषु वेदेष्वेकैकस्याश्शाखाया भाष्यं कृत्वा अनन्तरं माध्यन्दिनशतपथ-ब्राह्मणभाष्यं सायणाचार्येण व्यरचीति

"ऋग्यजुस्सामशाखानामेकैका व्याकृता मया ।
तावता तत्समानार्था ज्ञातुं शक्यास्ततः पराः ।।

वासनाविशदा यत्र मन्त्रार्थानामशेषतः ।
प्रायेणाध्वर्यवं कर्म पूर्णं शाखान्तरैर्विना ।।

करामलकवद्यत्र परं तत्त्वं प्रकाशितम् ।
या काचित्तादृशी शाखा त्वया व्याख्यायतामिति ।।

सर्वतस्सायणाचार्यो विमृश्योदीरितान् गुणान् ।
माध्यन्दिने शतपथे ब्राह्मणे व्याकरोति तत् ।।

इति तदीयभाष्योपक्रमस्थश्लोकैः स्पष्टं भवति । श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यश्चतुर्वेदसंप्रादायप्रवर्तक इति पूर्वमुक्तम् । तत्र ऋग्वेदी शिष्यश्शङ्खायनादिः । यजुर्वेदी शिष्यः कण्वमाध्यन्दिनादिः । सामवेदी शिष्यस्सामश्रवादिः । अथर्ववेदी शिष्यः शौनकादिरिति विवेकः ।

संक्षिप्तं याज्ञवल्क्यचरितम् —

अयं मुनिर्विश्वामित्रवंश्यः चारायणदेवरातब्रह्मरातयज्ञवल्कवाजसनिरित्यादिनानानामभिः प्रसिद्धस्य महर्षेः पुत्रः । अस्य च गुजरात् प्रान्ते वासः । जनकस्य देशिकपदाङ्गीकारानन्तरं मिथिलायां वासः ।

अस्य मातुर्नाम सुनन्देति । मैत्रेयी कात्यायनीति भार्ये द्वे बभूवतुः । याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतियाज्ञवल्क्यशिक्षायाज्ञवल्क्यगीतायोगशास्त्रप्रमुखाः प्रबन्धा अनेन रचिताः । अयं जनकसभायां महान्तं ब्रह्मवादं कृत्वा सर्वविजयी समभवत् । जनकमहाराजस्याचार्यकत्वमङ्गीकृत्य तस्मै ब्रह्मोपदेशमकरोत् । अनेकेषु यज्ञेष्वार्त्विज्यं विधाय स्वयमप्यनेकान् यज्ञानकार्षीत् । कात्यायन्यां कात्यायननामकमेकं पुत्रं च जनयामास । अन्ते च स्वभार्यायै ब्रह्मवादिन्यै मैत्रेय्यै ब्रह्मविद्याधनं कात्यायन्यै गृहकर्मकुशलायै स्वभार्यायै गृहपश्वादिमानुषं धनं च प्रदाय स्वयं संन्यस्य जीवन्मुक्तो बभूव । अन्ते च ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमवाप ।

एवं शुक्लयजुर्वेदमीमांसा सप्रमाणकम् ।
संक्षिप्य जगदीशेन कृता भूयात्सतां मुदे ।।

सूर्योपदिष्टश्रीशुक्लयजुर्वेदप्रवर्तकम् ।
ब्रह्मवित्प्रवरं वन्दे याज्ञवल्क्यं मुनीश्वरम् ।।



म. रामनाथदीक्षितः

सामवेदः लौकिको व्यवहारश्च

नीलोत्पलदलाभासं सामवेदं हयाननम् ।
अक्षमालान्वितं दक्षे वामे कम्बुधरं भजे ॥

सप्ताकारविभक्तिरम्यतनुमान् सप्तस्वरद्वीपवान्
नानारूपमखाख्यरत्ननिलयो देवर्ष्यनेकाश्रयः ।
कल्पेन्दूदयवर्धमानविभवच्छन्दोनदीपूरितः
स्तोभोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गवानवतु वस्सामागमाम्भोनिधिः ॥

भणति भगवान् भगवद्गीतायां "वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मी"ति । श्रूयते च सामवेदमहिमा "सामवेदो ब्राह्मणानां प्रसूति"रिति । "अयज्ञो वा एष योऽसामा" इति । "यः पुनरेतं त्रिमात्रेणोमित्येतेनैवाक्षरेण परं पुरुषमभिध्यायीत स सामभिरुन्नीयते ब्रह्मलोक"मिति च । स्मर्यतेऽपि च पराशक्तेः परमेश्वरस्य च परमप्रेमास्पदत्वेन सामवेदः "सामगानप्रिया" (ल.स.) इति, "सामप्रियः स्वरमयः" इति च (शि.अ.) । तादृशमहिमोपेतस्सामवेदः सहस्रशाखात्मकः । "सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद" इति महाभाष्यकारः । तत्रेदानीं भारतेऽस्मिन् प्राचुर्येण प्रथमाना कौथुमशाखैव । तस्यां मन्त्रभागः एवं वेयगानारण्यगानात्मकानि सप्तगानानि, ऊहगानोह्यगानानि सप्ततन्त्रात्मकानि, तेषामाधारभूता पूर्वा ऋचः, उत्तरा ऋचश्च इति । अध्येतृभिः परिपाल्यते स ब्राह्मणभागश्चाष्टधा विभक्तो विराजते ॥

अष्टौ हि ब्राह्मणग्रन्थाः प्रौढं ब्राह्मणमादिमम् ।
षड्विंशाख्यं द्वितीयं स्यात्ततस्सामविधिर्भवेत् ॥

आर्षेयं देवताध्यायो भवेदुपनिषत्ततः ।
संहितोपनिषद्वंशो ग्रन्था अष्टावुदीरिताः ॥

इति प्राचां वचनम् ।

तत्र प्रौढाख्ये ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणेऽग्निष्टोमादयः सहस्रसंवत्सरसाध्यविश्वसृजामयनपर्यन्ता अष्टसप्तत्युत्तरशतसंख्याका यागविशेषा अनुक्रमेणाख्यायन्ते । एष एव क्रमः अनुस्रियते आपस्तम्बकात्यायनादिभिः श्रौतसूत्रकारैः ॥

षड्विंशाख्ये द्वितीये ब्राह्मणे पञ्चभिरध्यायैः क्रत्वङ्गभूतान् कांश्चन विषयविशेषान् प्रतिपाद्य शत्रुनाशप्रयोजकश्येनेषु वज्रादिसंज्ञका आभिचारविशेषाः प्रविधीयन्ते । अनयोः प्रतिपाद्यानां कर्मणां प्रायेणादृष्टार्थत्वात् न तान्यत्र प्रतन्यन्ते ॥

अन्तिमे चाद्भुतब्राह्मणाख्ये षष्ठेऽध्याये राष्ट्रस्य प्रजानां च संभावितानेकविधारिष्टपरिहाराय विधित्सितशान्तिकर्मसु आराध्यानां देवतानां विग्रहवत्त्वप्रतिपादनमुखेन लोकयात्रानिर्वाहकगृहक्षेत्र-धनधान्यपुत्रपशुषु नगरे ग्रामे जनतायां च संभावितसर्वारिष्टनिर्हरणार्थानि सामजपहोमात्मकानि

शान्तिकर्माणि सेतिकर्तव्यताकानि विधीयन्ते। न हि शरीरस्य राष्ट्रस्य चारिष्टे संभवति लोकयात्रानिर्वाहः सुखेन कर्तुं शक्यते। अतस्तादृशारिष्टनिवृत्तिसाधनप्रतिपादकमिदं ब्राह्मणं दृष्टार्थतयैवोपयुज्यत इति तदेव विशदीक्रियते। तद्यथा—

[1]"अथातोऽद्भुतानां कर्मणां शान्तिं व्याख्यास्यामः। पालाशानां समिधामष्टसहस्रं जुहुयात् ऐन्द्रयाम्यवारुणधानदाग्नेयवायव्यसौम्यवैष्णवेत्यष्टौ"

इत्यारभ्य "स्वस्ति हास्य भवति" इत्यन्तेन सामान्यतः कर्मणां स्वरूपं प्रतिपाद्य विशेषतो विदधाति। अद्भुतानां दैविकानामनिष्टप्राप्तिसूचकानां शान्तिं तत्तत्सूचितदोषनिर्हरणसाधनात्मिकां विशेषत आख्यास्याम इति तदर्थः। ततः "देवाश्च[2] वा असुराश्चैषु लोकेष्वस्पर्धन्त" इत्युपाख्यानमुखेन शत्रुविजयार्थमनेकद्रव्यसाध्यं कंचन स्थालीपाकं विधत्ते। अनन्तरं कस्यचित्पुरुषस्य यदि वज्रवैदूर्यमाणिक्यादिमणयो विदीर्यन्ते, राजकीयेनाधिकारिणा सह विवादो वा जायते यानशय्यासनध्वजादयो भज्यन्ते, गजाश्वगवादयः पशवो वा अकाले म्रियन्ते एवमादयो भाव्यरिष्टसूचका यजमानभयावहाः तेषामरिष्टानां परिहाराय इन्द्रदैवत्यः स्थालीपाकः सामगानविशिष्टः प्रतिपाद्यते। "[3]स प्राचीं दिशमन्वावर्ततेऽथ यदास्य मणिमणिककुम्भस्थालीदरणमायासो राजकुलविवादो वा यानछत्रशय्यासनावसथध्वजपताका गृहैकदेशप्रभञ्जनेषु गजवाजिमुख्या वा प्रमीयाः प्रमीयन्त" इत्येवमादीनि तान्येताति सर्वाणि इन्द्रदेवत्यान्यद्भुतानि प्रायश्चितानि भवन्ति। "इन्द्रायेन्द्रो मरुत्वत" इति स्थालीपाकं हुत्वा "पञ्चभिराज्याहुतिभिरभिजुहोति इन्द्राय स्वाहा, शचीपतये स्वाहा, वज्रपाणये स्वाहा, ईश्वराय स्वाहा, सर्वपापशमनाय स्वाहेति व्याहृतिभिर्हुत्वाऽथ साम गायेत्" इत्यादिना। अत्रोक्तं शचीपतित्वं, वज्रपाणित्वं, वक्ष्यमाणप्रयोगेषु तत्तद्देवतानां तत्तदायुधवत्त्वं चेन्द्रादिदेवतानां विग्रहवत्त्वं गमयति। न ह्यशरीरस्य पाणिपादाद्यसंभवेन वज्रपाणित्वादयः संभवन्ति। अतो देवतानां विग्रहवत्वप्रतिपादकं श्रौतमिदं प्रमाणम्॥

तथा सर्वभोगायतनस्य सर्वधर्मनिदानस्य च शरीरस्य व्याध्यादिपीडने पुत्रमित्रकलत्रादिषु गवादिषु पशुषु वा रोगवत्सु सुखजीवनं न संभवतीति तादृशारिष्टपरिहाराय यमदैवत्यं स्थालीपाकं सेतिकर्तव्यताकं विधत्ते "[4]यदास्य प्रजायां पशुषु शरीरे वारिष्टानि प्रादुर्भवन्ति व्याधयो वा अनेकविधाः अतिस्वप्नमस्वप्नमतिभोजनमभोजनमालस्यव्रणमजीर्णनिद्राण्येवमादीनि यमदैवत्यान्यद्भुतानि" इत्यादिना।

अनन्तरमभ्यवहारमुख्यसाधनधान्यसंरक्षणाय वरुणदैवत्यः स्थालीपाको विधीयते। "[5]यदाऽस्य क्षेत्रगृहसंस्थेषु धान्येषु ईतयः प्रादुर्भवन्ति, ईतयो वाऽनेकविधा आखुपतङ्गपिपीलिकामध्वकभौमकशुकशरभकसौक्ष्मक इत्येवमादीनि" इत्यादिना। अत्र क्षेत्रस्थधान्यनाशका आखुपतङ्गमध्वकशुकादायः। गृहस्थितधान्यनाशका आखुपिपीलिकादयः। एतेषां पीडानिर्हरणाय शान्तिः होमजपरूपा विहिता॥

एवं कनकरजतवरवस्त्रादिवियोगः तत्तत्कार्येषु प्रवृत्तेः वैफल्यं; पिशाचदर्शनं, काककूर्मादीनां गृहमध्ये प्रवेशः; पृथिव्याः स्फोटनम्, कम्पनम्, वृक्षेषु रुधिरस्रवणम्; गवां शृङ्गेषु धूमोत्पत्तिः; स्तनेषु रुधिरस्रवणम्; देवालयस्य कम्पनम्; तत्रत्यदेवतानां स्फोटनम्; ध्वजपताकादीनां भेदनम्; आदित्ये कबन्धदर्शनम्; गोषु मानुषमहिषादिजननम्; हीनाङ्गातिरिक्ताङ्गविकृतरूपशिशुज-

1. अध्याय ५; खण्ड १. 2. अध्याय ५; खण्ड १. 3. अध्याय ५; खण्ड ३.
4. अध्याय ५; खण्ड ४. 5. अध्याय ५; खण्ड ५.

ननम्; पर्वतस्फोटनम्; अश्मप्लवनम्; इत्यादीनि राष्ट्रजनताभयसूचकानीति प्रदर्श्य तेषां शान्तिः तत्तद्देवताप्रदर्शनपूर्वकमवशिष्टैः सप्तभिः खण्डैर्विधीयते। विस्तरभयान्न विव्रियते। एवं षड्विंशब्राह्मणे संभावितसर्वारिष्टपरिहाराय सामजपहोमात्मकाः प्रयोगाः प्रदर्शिताः।

समनन्तरे सामविधाने ब्राह्मणे सप्तस्वरात्मकसामवेदः सर्वप्राण्युपजीवनमिति प्रदर्श्य, लोक-व्यवहाराय मुख्यसाधनायुरारोग्यसत्कलत्रपुत्रगृहारामक्षेत्रादिलाभप्रयोजनकानि सनियमसामजप-रूपाणि सेतिकर्तव्यताकहोमरूपाणि च कर्माणि विधीयन्ते। तेषु कानिचित् प्रदर्श्यन्ते—

तत्र प्रथमतः प्रजापतिः प्रपञ्चजातं सृष्ट्वा तस्य जीवनसाधनत्वेन सप्तस्वरात्मकं साम प्रायच्छदिति प्रतिपाद्यते। ततः "[1]अथातः काम्याना"मित्यारभ्य प्रयोगविशेषा विधीयन्ते। अभिलषणीयानां मध्ये आयुषः प्राथम्यात् शतवर्षजीवनाय जरादिराहित्याय च सामजपं विदधाति। "[2]आयुष्याण्येव प्रथमं अबोध्यग्निर्मंहि त्रीणामिति द्वे" इत्यादिना "शतं वर्षाणि जीवति जरयैव विस्त्रंसत" इत्यन्तेन।

अथाचिकित्स्यराजयक्ष्मरोगनिर्हरणाय यक्षपिशाचब्रह्मराक्षसादिबाधानिवृत्तये च [3]अचोदस इति मध्यं प्रयुञ्जान इति [4]अशनिहतस्य वृक्षस्येध्मः शुक्लाया गोस्सरूपवत्साया आज्यमिति च प्रयोगः प्रदर्श्यते। सत्पुत्रलाभाय "[5]नित्वानक्ष्य नित्वामग्न"इत्यारभ्य सुरूपान् दीर्घायुषः पुत्रान् लभत इति सामजपो विधीयते। यदि कस्याश्चिदपत्यानि जनित्वा जनित्वा म्रियन्ते तादृशा दोषनिर्हरणाय सहस्रसंख्याकहोमशिष्टाज्यधारणमेखलायां मणिधारणादिरूपः प्रयोगः "[6]अथ यस्या जातानि प्रमीयेरन्" इत्यादिना विधीयते। अनन्तरं प्रयाणकाले मध्येपथं शत्रुभये सति तन्निवृत्तिकरप्रयोगः [7]उद्यतशस्त्रान् शत्रून् दृष्ट्वा देवव्रतानि मनसा ध्यायेन्नैनं हिंसन्ति, आमन्द्रैरिति वर्गं गीत्वानपेक्षमाणो व्रजेत् स्वस्त्यर्थंचरितः पुनरैति नाध्वनि च प्रमीयते" इत्यादिना विहितः। दम्पत्योः परस्परं कलहेऽन्यतरवशीकरणाय प्रयोगः [8]एकमनुष्याणामावर्तनं स्त्रिया वा पुंसो वा इत्यादिना विहितः। अत्रैव प्रकरणे ग्रामनगरराष्ट्रादिवशीकरणोपायश्च प्रदर्श्यते।

कन्यायास्सत्पातप्राप्तौ पुरुषस्य सत्कन्याप्राप्तौ च प्रयोगः "[9]कन्याप्रवाहण" इत्यादिना विहितः। सकृच्छ्रुतस्य धारणशक्तिः सभायां राजनि च वाक्यार्थे विजयः इत्यादौ प्रयोगः, अलक्ष्मीनिर्हरणार्थप्रयोगः, धनधान्यादिप्राप्तिसाधनप्रयोगः, नूतनगृहनिर्माणवास्तुशान्तिप्रयोगः इत्यादयो बहवो विहिता दृष्टार्थप्रयोगा विस्तरभयान्नेह विव्रियन्ते॥

अदृष्टार्थप्रयोगास्तु — स्वर्गसुखप्राप्तेरारभ्य अपुनर्भवफलपर्यन्ताः सामजपरूपा बहवो विहिताः। ग्रन्थसमाप्तौ च भारतदेशाधिष्ठानदेवताया भारतमातेति प्रसिद्धाया उत्तरतः प्रालेयाचले दक्षिणतः कन्याकुमार्यां च नित्यसन्निहितायाः पराशक्तेरुपासनमपुनर्भवसाधनं विधत्ते "[10]अथ यः कामयेत पुनर्न प्रत्याजायेय"इत्यादिना॥

इदानीमायुर्वेदः शरीरारोग्यपुष्टिरोगप्रशमकरौषधप्रतिपादकत्वात् सर्वेषां सुखसाधनमिति कृत्वा वैद्यशालावैद्यपाठशालाप्रतिष्ठापनादिना तत्र तत्र विस्तार्यते। तस्याध्यात्मतापमात्रनि-वर्तकत्वमित्यविप्रतिपन्नम्। आधिदैवाधिभूतोपतापनिवृत्तिं विनाभिलषितं सुखं न प्राप्यत इति सर्वाभिलषितसुखप्राप्तये सामवेदीयषड्विंशसामविधानयोः प्रदर्शिताः प्रयोगा अपि प्रचारणीया आस्तिकवर्यैरिति सादरं प्रार्थ्यते॥

1. प्र.२; ख.१. 2. प्र.१; ख.१. 3. प्र.२; ख.३. 4. प्र.२; ख.२. 5. प्र.२; ख.८. 6. प्र.२; ख.२. 7. प्र.२; ख.४. 8. प्र.२; ख.५. 9. प्र.२; ख.४. 10. प्र.३; ख.८.

चतुर्वेदी. रामचन्द्राचार्यः

दर्शनानां लोकन्यायानाञ्च मूलभूता वेदभागाः

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूत्
अधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते
नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ।। (नि. १-६)

इत्यादि प्रमाणपर्यालोचनया वेदार्थज्ञानाभावेऽनिष्टस्य, तत्सद्भावे इष्टस्य चावगतेरीदृशानां वेदानामर्थज्ञानमावश्यकमिति सिद्ध्यति ।

"कपिलस्य कणादस्य गौतमस्य पतञ्जलेः ।
व्यासस्य जैमिनेश्चापि शास्त्राण्याहुः षडेव हि ।।"

इति षड्दर्शनीवादिनां मतम् ।

अन्यन्मतम्—सांख्यम्, वैशेषिकम्, न्यायः, योगः, पूर्वमीमांसा, उत्तरमीमांसा, सौत्रान्तिकम्, वैभाषिकम्, योगाचारम्, माध्यमिकम्, जैनम्, चार्वाकमिति द्वादश दर्शनानि — इति ।

तृतीयं मतम् – सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहसंगृहीतानि षोडशदर्शनानीति । तानि च – चार्वाकबौद्धार्हत–रामानुजपूर्णप्रज्ञनकुलीशपाशुपतशैवप्रत्यभिज्ञारसेश्वरौलूक्याक्षपादजैमिनिसांख्यपातञ्जलशाङ्करणीति विज्ञेयानि ।

चार्वाकदर्शनम्

"यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेन्नास्ति मृत्योरगोचरः ।
भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ।।"

इति लोकगाथामनुरुन्धानं दर्शनमिदं आत्मैव नास्ति यद्वा पृथिव्यादिभिश्चतुर्भिर्भूतैरारब्धं शरीरमेव आत्मा अस्तु, देहनाशे स नश्यति, इह लोकेऽनुभूयमानं सुखमेव पुरुषार्थः, पारलौकिकं सुखमेव नास्ति, किं पुनस्तस्य पुरुषार्थत्वमित्यादि सूचयति । अत्र मूलं वेदभागेऽयं यथायथमनुसंधेयः "वायुरनिलममृतमथेदं भस्मान्तं शरीरम्" (ईश. १७) । "नखश्च पृष्ठश्च करौ च बाहू जङ्घे चोरू उदरं शिरश्च रोमाणि मांसं रुधिरास्थिमज्जामेतच्छरीरं जलबुद्बुदोपमम्" (ऋ. खि.) । "विज्ञानघन एवैतेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः समुत्थाय तान्येवानु विनश्यति" (बृह. उप. २. ४. १२) । "को हि तद्वेद यद्यमुष्मिन् लोकोऽस्ति वा नवेति" (तै. सं ६. १. १) इति ।

बौद्धदर्शनम्

माध्यमिको नाम बौद्धः शून्यमेव परमार्थसत् जगत्तु सांवृतसत्यं शून्ये कल्पितमिति मन्यते । तत्र मूलं वेदभागः "तद्धैक आहुरसदेवेदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयं तस्मादसतस्सज्जायत" । (छा. उप. ६.२.१) तथा —

"देवानां युगे प्रथमे सतस्सदजायत ।
तदाशा अन्वजायन्त तदुत्तानपदस्परि ।।" (ऋ. १०. ७२. ३.) इति च ।

क्षणिकं ज्ञानमेव तत्त्वं, ज्ञानातिरिक्तोऽर्थो नास्तीति योगाचारमतम् । अत्र मूलं —

"विज्ञानघन एवैतेभ्यो भूतेभ्यस्समुत्थाय तान्येवानुविनश्यति न प्रेत्य संज्ञास्तीति" (बृह. उप. २. ४. १२) इति ।

सर्वं क्षणिकमिति वादस्य —

"श्वोभावा मर्त्यस्य यदन्तकैतत् सर्वेन्द्रियाणां जरयन्ति तेजः ।
अपि सर्वं जीवितमल्पमेव तवैव वाहास्तव नृत्यगीते ।।" (कठ. उप. १.२६) इति।

सर्वं दुःखमिति समयस्य मूलम् —

"एष त आत्मा अन्तर्याम्यमृतोऽतोऽन्यदार्तम्" (बृह. उप. ३. ७. २२) इति ।

आर्हतदर्शनम्

अर्हन् जिनः तदुपदेश्याः आर्हतास्तेषां दर्शनम् । अर्हतो लक्षणमित्थं वर्ण्यते ।

"सर्वज्ञो जितरागादिदोषस्त्रैलोक्यपूजितः ।
यथास्थितार्थवादी च देवोऽर्हन् परमेश्वरः ।।" (आप्तनिश्चयालंकारः) इति ।

अत्र मूलं – "यस्सर्वज्ञस्सर्वविद् यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः" (मु. उप. १-१-९) । तथा – "हिरण्मये परे कोशे विरजं ब्रह्म निष्कलम्" (मु. उप. २-२-९) इति च ।

केषां चनार्हतानां मते जीवाजीवास्रवादयः सप्ततत्त्वानि । आस्रवो योग इति पर्यायौ । स च द्विविधः—शुभाशुभभेदात् । शुभस्तु अहिंसादिः । अत्र मूलं—न हिंस्यात्सर्वा भूतानीति । अशुभस्योदाहरणं सत्यहितमितभाषणादि । अत्र मूलं "—सत्यं वद, धर्मं चर" (तै. उ. २-१३) इति ।

रामानुजदर्शनम्

विशिष्टाद्वैतमिति पदं विशिष्टयोरद्वैतमिति व्युत्पत्त्या लब्धम् । स्थूलचिदचिद्विशिष्टस्य ब्रह्मणः सूक्ष्मचिदचिद्विशिष्टब्रह्मणश्च मिथ ऐक्यम् । तत्र चिच्छब्दवाच्या जीवाः परस्परं ब्रह्मणो भिन्ना नित्याश्च । अत्र मूलं – "द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया" (मु. उ. ३-१-१) । "नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानाम्" (कठ. उप. ५-१३) इति । अचिच्छब्दवाच्यं दृश्यम् । जडं जगत् । तस्य जगतः कर्ता उपादानं च परमात्मा । अत्र मूलं – "आत्मन आकाशः सम्भूत सोऽकामयत" । (तै.उ. २.१) । विशिष्टाद्वैतनिर्वहणं तु इत्थं – "द्वा सुपर्णे"त्यादिना जीवब्रह्मणोर्भेदोऽवगम्यते । स "आत्मा तत्त्वमसी"त्यादिना तयोरभेदोऽवगम्यते । अनयोर्विरुद्धयोर्घटनाय प्रवृत्तेः "यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन् पृथिव्या अन्तरं यं पृथिवी न वेद यस्य पृथिवी शरीरं यः पृथिवीमन्तरो यमयत्येष त आत्मा अन्तर्याम्यमृतः" (बृह. उप. ३. ७. ३) इत्यादिवाक्यैः जीवजडयोर्भगवच्छरीरात्वावगमेन शरीरवाचकानां शब्दानां शरीरिणि पर्यवसानस्य लोकदृष्टत्वेन च निरुक्तविशिष्टाद्वैतनिर्वाहो युक्तः । किंचैतद्दर्शने नित्यसूरयो गरुडानन्तविष्वक्सेनादयो नित्यमुक्ताः स्वीचिकीर्षिताः । तत्र मूलं – "तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः दिवीव चक्षुराततम्" (तै. सं. १-३-६) इति ।

पूर्णप्रज्ञदर्शनम्

स्वतन्त्रं परतन्त्रं चेति द्विविधं तत्त्वम् । स्वतन्त्रो भगवान्विष्णुः अन्यदस्वतन्त्रमिति । अत्र मूलं – "न ते विष्णो जायमानो न जातो देवमहिम्नः परमं तमाप" (ऋ. ५-६-२४) । "नैनमूर्ध्वं न तिर्यञ्चं न मध्ये परिजग्रभत् न तस्येशे कश्चन तस्य नाम महद्यशः" (तै. आ. ६. १) इत्यादि । किञ्च दर्शनेऽस्मिन् जीवत्रैविध्यमसाधारणं तत्त्वम् । मुक्तियोग्या नित्यसंसारिणस्तमोयोग्याश्चेति । अत्र मूलं —

"शृण्वे वीर उग्रमुग्रं दमायन्नन्यमन्यमति नेनीयमानः ।
एधमानद्विलुभयस्य राजा चोष्कूयते विश इन्द्रो मनुष्यान् ।।" (ऋ. ४. ७. ३३) इति ।

नकुलीशपाशुपतदर्शनम्

पशुपतिर्महादेव आराध्यः । स तु कर्मनिरपेक्षस्सन् जगत्कारणम् । पशुर्द्विविधः साञ्जनः (शरीरेन्द्रियसम्बन्धी) निरञ्जनः (तद्रहितः) चेति । तादृशस्य पशोः पतिः । निरतिशय-दृक्क्रियाशक्तिमानिति मुख्यं प्रमेयम् । अत्र मूलं —

"भूयः सृष्ट्वा पतयस्तथेशः सर्वाधिपत्यं कुरुते महात्मा" (श्वेत. उप. ५-३) ।

तथा —

'स कारणं कारणाधिपाधिपो न चास्य कश्चिज्जनिता न चाधिपः ।
छन्दांसि यज्ञाः क्रतवो व्रतानि भूतं भव्यं यच्च वेदा वदन्ति ।
अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत् तस्मिंश्चान्यो मायया सन्निरुद्धः ।।" (श्वेत.उप.४-९) इति ।

एवं —

"न तस्य कार्यं करणं च विद्यते न तत्समश्चाभ्यधिकश्च दृश्यते ।
परास्य शक्तिर्विविधैव श्रूयते स्वाभावीकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ।।" (श्वेत.उप. ६.८) इति ।

अत्र स्वाभाविकत्वं नाम कर्मनिरपेक्षत्वं विवक्षितम् ।।

शैवदर्शनम्

पतिः पशुः पाश इति त्रीणि तत्त्वानि । तत्र पतिः शिवः पशुर्जीवः पाश अचेतनमिति विवेकः । स च शिवः कर्मादिसापेक्षो जगत्कारणम् । अन्यथा वैषम्यनैर्घृण्याद्यापत्तेः ।

' अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः ।
ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत् स्वर्गं वा श्वभ्रमेव वा ।।"

इति न्यायेन कर्मसापेक्षत्वेन परमेश्वरस्य कर्तृत्वोपपत्तेः । अत्र मूलं — "अथैकयोर्ध्वमुदानः पुण्येन पुण्यं लोकं नयति पापेन पापमुभाभ्यामेव मनुष्यलोकम्" (प्रश्न. उप. ३.७) इति । किंच स च शिवः अशरीर एव जगत्कर्ता सशरीरत्वे क्लेशादिप्रसङ्गादशरीरस्याप्यस्य शरीरादाविव घटादौ कर्तृत्वमुचितम् । अत्र मूलं —

"अपाणिपादो जवनो गृहीता पश्यत्यचक्षुः स शृणोत्यकर्णः" (श्वेत. उप. ६-८) इति । अथवा स शरीर एवायं शिवः; न चैवं क्लेशादिप्रसङ्गोऽस्य शरीरस्यास्य शक्तत्वाभ्युपगमात् । श्राव्यते चायमीशानादिभिः पञ्चभिर्मन्त्रैः मस्तकादिकल्पनया ईशानमस्तकः तत्पुरुषवक्त्रः अघोर हृदयः, वामदेवगुह्यः, सद्योजातपाद इति । ते च मन्त्राः — "ईशानः सर्वविद्याना"मित्यादयः तैत्तिरीयारण्यके षष्ठप्रश्ने समाम्नाता वेदितव्या इति ।।

प्रत्यभिज्ञादर्शनम्

प्रत्यभिज्ञानं प्रत्यगात्मनः अहं परमेश्वर एवेति ज्ञानम् । तन्मात्रं मोक्षाभ्युपायः । मोक्षश्च परिपूर्णात्मलाभः । प्रत्यगात्मनां परमेश्वरभावः स्वतस्सिद्धोऽपि मायावशात् न प्रतिभासते । गुरूपदेशेन मायायां निवृत्तायां स परिपूर्णतयानुभूयते । स परमेश्वरः केवलं स्वेच्छया जगन्निर्माति । स्वकीयेन प्रकाशचिद्रूपमहिम्ना जगद्भासयति इति परमं प्रमेयम् । अत्र मूलं —

"अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (बृह. उप. २-४-१०) ।
यो वेदादौ स्वरः प्रोक्तो वेदान्ते च प्रतिष्ठितः ।
तस्य प्रकृतिलीनस्य यः परस्स महेश्वरः ।। (महाना. उप. १०-अ.)
तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् (मु. उप. १-२-१२) ।
तस्याभिध्यानात् योजनात्तत्त्वभावात् भूयश्चान्ते विश्वमायानिवृत्तिः (श्वेत.उप.१-१०) ।
तमेव भान्तमनुभाति सर्वं तस्य भासा सर्वमिदं विभाति (कठ. उप. ५-१५) ।
इच्छामात्रं प्रभोः सृष्टिः (माण्डू. उप. १. ८.)" इति च ।

रसेश्वरदर्शनम्

रसः पारदादिरसः । स एव सेवितस्सन् ईश्वरतादात्म्यापत्तिरूपाया जीवन्मुक्तेः पिण्डस्थैर्य-सम्पादनद्वारा आत्मतत्त्वाभ्यासमुखेन ज्ञानं प्रापय्य हेतुर्भवतीति परमं रहस्यम् । अत्र च मूलं "रसो वै सः", "रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वा आनन्दी भवति" (तै. उप. २-७), तथा—"अत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते" (कठ. उप. ६-१४) इति च वेदभागौ मूलम् । अत्र आयुर्घृतमितिवत् परमेश्वरतादात्म्यापत्तिसाधने रसे तद्वाचकसर्वनामप्रयोगः रसो वै स इति । "अत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुत" इत्यत्र अत्रेत्यनेन विद्यमानशरीर एवेत्यर्थस्य विवक्षणम् । ततश्च उक्तार्थलाभः ।।

दर्शनस्यास्य वैशेषिकदर्शनं कणाददर्शनमिति च नामान्तरम् । अत्र दर्शने सप्त पदार्थाः । द्रव्यं गुणः कर्म सामान्यं समवायो विशेषश्चेति षट् भावपदार्थाः । अभावश्च सप्तम इति । एतेषां तत्त्वज्ञानात् व्याप्तिज्ञानं ततोऽनुमानद्वारा मननरूपं ज्ञानं जायते । तेन च ईश्वरसाक्षात्कारः तत आत्यन्तिकदुःखनिवृत्तिरूपो मोक्षो जायते इति सारांशः । अत्र च मूलं—"तरति शोकमात्मवित्" (छा.उप. ७-१-३), "आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यो मैत्रेय्यात्मनो वा अरे दर्शनेन श्रवणेन मत्या विज्ञानेनेदं सर्वं विदितम् " (बृह. उप. २-४-५) इति । अत्रात्मपदेन ईश्वरः इदं सर्वमित्यनेन सप्तपदार्थौ च विवक्षिते । ततश्च सप्तपदार्थीज्ञान-मात्मज्ञानद्वारा सफलं भवतीति तात्पर्यार्थलाभः ।।

अक्षपाददर्शनम्

न्यायदर्शनमिति पर्यायः । अत्र प्रमाणप्रमेयसंशयादयः षोडशपदार्थाः । तेषां तत्त्वज्ञानात् निश्श्रेय-साधिगमः । आत्यन्तिकैकविंशतिदुःखध्वंसो मोक्ष इत्युच्यते । एकविंशतिदुःखेषु शरीरमप्यन्त-र्गच्छति । ततश्च शरीरस्यापि नाशो मोक्षे । ततश्च शरीरसाध्यं ज्ञानसुखदुःखाद्यपि नास्ति मोक्षे इति सारसंग्रहः । अत्र च मूलं—"तरति शोकमात्मवित्" (छा. उप. ७-१-३), "आत्मा वारे" इत्यादि । (बृह. २-४-५) "न प्रेत्य संज्ञास्तीति" (बृह. २-४-१२), अथवा "अशरीरं वावसन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशतः" (छा. उप. ८-१२-१) इति स्पष्टं वाक्यान्तरमुक्तार्थे सर्वस्मिन् मूलतयाङ्गीकारमर्हति । दर्शनेऽत्र ईश्वरस्य प्रामाण्यस्थापनं मुख्यविषयतां प्रतिपद्यते । यथा चाहोदयनाचार्यः—

"साक्षात्कारिणि नित्ययोगिनि परद्वारानपेक्षस्थितौ
भूतार्थानुभवे निविष्टनिखिलप्रस्ताविवस्तुक्रमः ।
लेशादृष्टिनिमित्तदुष्टिविगमप्रभ्रष्टशङ्कातुषः
शङ्कोन्मेषकलङ्किभिः किमपरैस्तन्मे प्रमाणं शिवः ।। (न्या. कु. ४-६) इति ।

अत्र च मूलं — "यदेव साक्षादपरोक्षाद् ब्रह्म" (बृह. उप. ५-५) इति। किं चेश्वरः परमाणूनुपादानीकृत्य स्वयं निमित्तकारणं सन् जगत् सृजति इत्यपि परमं प्रमेयम्। अत्र च मूलं –

"विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखो विश्वतोबाहुरुत विश्वतस्पात्।
सं बाहुभ्यां धमति संपतत्रैर्द्यावा भूमी जनयन् देव एकः ।। (ऋ. १०-८१-३) इति।

अमुं मन्त्रं व्याख्याति उदयनः — "अत्र प्रथमेन सर्वज्ञत्वं चक्षुषा दृष्टेरुपलक्षणात्। षष्ठेन परमाणुरूपप्रधानाधिष्ठेयत्वं ते हि गतिशीलत्वात् पतत्रव्यपदेशाः पतन्तीति। सन्धमति संजनयन्निति च व्यवहितोपसर्गसम्बन्धः। तेन संयोजयति समुत्पादयन्नित्यर्थः।" (न्या. कु. V. ५२-५३) इति। कृत्स्नवेदप्रतिपाद्य ईश्वरः सार्वज्ञ्यादिमहिमा इतोऽप्यधिकतया कुसुमाञ्जलौ प्रतिपादितः ।।

जैमिनिदर्शनम्

पूर्वमीमांसादर्शनमित्यपरं नामास्य दर्शनस्य। इदञ्च द्वादशाध्यायीरूपं दर्शनम्। अत्र क्रमेण प्रमाणं, भेदः, शेषत्वं, प्रयोज्यत्वं, क्रमः, अधिकारः, सामान्यातिदेशः, विशेषातिदेशः, ऊहो, बाधः, तन्त्रं, प्रसङ्गश्चेति प्रधानप्रतिपाद्यतया धर्मविषया अध्यायैर्विचार्यन्ते। ईदृशी मीमांसा वेदमूलिका वेदार्थनिर्णयोपायानां न्यायानां सङ्कलनरूपत्वात्।

अपि च वेदेऽपीदृशी मीमांसा तत्र तत्र दृश्यते। यथा—"उपस्थेयोऽग्नी ३ र्नोपस्थेया ३ इत्याहुर्मनुष्या ये न्वै योऽहरहराहृत्याथैनं याचति स इन्वै तमुपार्च्छत्यथ को देवानहरहर्याचिष्यतीति। तस्मान्नोपस्थेयोऽथो खल्वाहुराशिषे वै कं यजमानो यजत इत्येषा खलु वा आहिताग्नेराशीर्यदग्निमुपतिष्ठते तस्मादुपस्थेयः" इति। (तै. सं. १-५-९) अस्याशयस्तु — प्रतिदिनं सायं प्रातश्चाग्नेरुपस्थानं कर्तव्यं न वेति संशयः। न कर्तव्यमिति पूर्वपक्षः। कुतः उपस्थानेनाग्नेरुपद्रवप्रसङ्गात्। तथा हि—यजमानः स्वल्पं हविर्दत्वा आयुरादीनि बहूनि फलानि याचमानः कथमग्निं न बाधेत। यथा खलु दरिद्रः कश्चिन्मनुष्यः अल्पं जम्बीरफलादिकं दत्वा मनुष्यं सन्तं राजानं बहूनि धनानि याचमानो बाधते तथा। तस्मादग्नेरुपस्थानं न कर्तव्यमिति पूर्वपक्षः। सिद्धान्तस्तु— अग्नेरुपस्थानं कर्तव्यमेवेति। यजमानः स्वाभीष्टमखिलं याचितुमेव खल्वग्निं यजति यजेतेति विहितत्वात्। न च हविषोऽल्पत्वं शङ्कनीयम्; एतस्य यजुषो वीर्येण यावदेका देवता कामयते यावदेका तावदाहुतिः प्रथते (तै. ब्रा. ६-२-६) इति वाक्येन मन्त्रसामर्थ्येन हविषो वर्धमानत्वावगमात्। अतो जम्बीरफलादिवैषम्यादग्निरुपस्थेय इति ईदृशमीमांसानुसारित्वादपि वेदमूलकत्वमस्या मीमांसाया युज्यते। "न माता वर्धते न पिता" इत्यादि वाक्यान्यपि यथायथमूहादिमूलान्यनुसन्धेयानीति ।।

पाणिनिदर्शनम्

दर्शनमिदं व्याकरणशास्त्रमिति प्रसिद्धम्। अस्य शब्दानुशासनमिति नामधेयं पतञ्जलिना "अथ शब्दानुशासन"मिति महाभाष्यं प्रारभमाणेन कृतम्। अनेन शास्त्रेण "शं नो देवीरभिष्टये" (अथर्व.सं. १-१) इत्यादयो वैदिकाश्शब्दाः गौरश्व इत्यादयो लौकिकाश्च शब्दाः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागवत्तया बोध्यन्त इति नामधेयमिदमन्वर्थकम्। अत्र मूलं —"वाग्वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्। ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन् इमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति। सोऽब्रवीद्वरं वृणै मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति। तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते। तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते" (तै. सं ६-४-७) इति वेदभागः। सोऽयं वेदभाग इत्थं व्याख्यातः सायणीये भाष्ये — "येयं वैदिकमन्त्ररूपा वाक् सा पूर्वं पराची समुद्रघोषवत् ऐक्यरूपेण दण्डायमाना तस्यां वाचि एतावदेकं वाक्यं तस्मिन्वाक्येऽप्येतावदेकं पदं तस्मिन् पदेऽपि इयं प्रकृतिः अयं प्रत्यय इत्येवं

विभज्य सर्वतः करणं व्याकरणं तद्रहितत्वादव्याकृतैव । अवदत्प्रवृत्ता । तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य वाक्यपदादिरूपेण तत्र तत्र विच्छिद्य विभिन्नां कृतवान् ।" इति ।

किंच "एकश्शब्दस्सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः शास्त्रान्वितः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवती"ति प्रमाणं दर्शनस्यास्य साधुशब्दप्रयोगद्वारा स्वर्गफलकत्वं श्रावयति ।

ननु अचेतनस्य शब्दस्य कथमीदृशं सामर्थ्यम्? अत्र महाभाष्यकारः —

"चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति
महो देवो मर्त्याँ आविवेश ।।" (म. ना. १०-१)

इति मन्त्रं प्रमाणयन्नचेतनस्यापि शब्दस्य महता देवेन साम्यं संसूच्य निरुक्तसामर्थ्यं व्यञ्जयामास इति ।

सांख्यदर्शनम्

अत्र चत्वारि तत्त्वानि प्रतिपादितानि । कश्चिदर्थः प्रकृतिरेव यथा मूलप्रकृतिः । कश्चिदर्थः प्रकृतिविकृत्युभयरूपः यथा महदादिः । कश्चिदर्थो विकृतिरेव यथा पञ्चभूतानि एकादशेन्द्रियाणि च । कश्चिदर्थः न प्रकृतिर्नापि विकृतिः यथा जीवाख्यः पुरुष इति । तत्र प्रकृतिपुरुषसम्बन्धः संसारः तद्वियोगो मोक्ष इति पुरुषोऽप्यकर्तृत्वेन निर्लेप इति परमस्सिद्धान्तः । अत्र सर्वत्र मूलं —

"अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः ।
अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः ।। (श्वेत. उप ४-५) इति

वेदमन्त्रः । तथा "असङ्गोऽह्ययं पुरुषः" (बृह. उप. ४-३-१५) इति च ।

पातञ्जलदर्शनम्

दर्शनस्यास्य सांख्यप्रवचनं योगशास्त्रमिति च नामान्तरे । इदं च पादचतुष्टयात्मकम् । योगो नाम चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः कृत्स्नशास्त्रप्रतिपाद्यः समाधियोगः तपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानादिरूपः क्रियायोगः धारणाध्यानादिः जन्मौषधिमन्त्रतपःसमाधिजाः सिद्धयः क्रमशः पादप्रतिपाद्या अर्थाः । अन्ततः स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठापरपर्यायः कैवल्यरूपो मोक्षश्च प्रतिपाद्यः । अत्र मूलम् —

"तस्याभिध्यानाद्योजनात्तत्त्वभावाद्भूयश्चान्ते विश्वमायानिवृत्तिः" (श्वेत. उप १-१०), "आत्मावारे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः" (बृह.उप. २-४-५), स्वाध्यायप्रवचने एवेति नाको मौद्गल्यः "स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः" (तै. आ. २-१५) "यं यं लोकं मनसा संविभाति विशुद्धसत्त्वः कामयते यांश्च कामान् तं तं लोकं जयते तांश्च कामाँ तस्मादात्मज्ञं भूतिकामः" (मुण्डक उप. ३-१-१०), "स भगवः कस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति स्वे महिम्नि" (छा. ७-२-४) इत्यादिर्वेदभागाः इति ।

शाङ्करदर्शनम्

अत्र प्रतिपाद्या विषया वेदान्तशास्त्रं चतुर्लक्षणीरूपम् ब्रह्मसूत्रम् । अस्य विषयः प्रत्यक्ब्रह्मैक्यम् । यथा "शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तूपदेशो वामदेववत्" (ब्र. सू. १-१-३०) इत्यादौ । ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु चतुर्षु अध्यायेषु क्रमशः सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यं सांख्यादितर्कविरोधनिराकरणं ब्रह्म-

विद्यासाधनं ब्रह्मविद्याफलं चेति प्रमेयं प्रतिपाद्यम् । अत्र कृत्स्नस्य वेदान्तशास्त्रस्य वेदैकदेशरूपोपनिषदर्थतात्पर्यनिर्णायकन्यायव्युत्पादकत्वरूपं पारिभाषिकं वेदमूलकत्वं विज्ञेयम् । अध्यायार्थेषु तु मूलानि वेदभागा इमे :-"सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति" (कठ.उप. २-१५), "नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया" (कठ.उप. २-९), "यदेव साक्षादपरोक्षाद्ब्रह्म" (बृह. ५-५), "आत्मा वारे" (बृह. २-४-५), "तरति शोकमात्मवित्" (छा. ७-१-३), "भूयश्चान्ते विश्वमायानिवृत्तिः" (श्वेत.उप. १-१०), "किं चात्र दर्शने ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः" इति प्रधानप्रमेयमित्यादयः । अत्र मूलं "सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म" (तै. उ. २-१), "प्राणा वै सत्यं तेषामेष सत्यम्" (बृह. ४-३-६), "नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्" (ऋ. १०-१२९-१), "अहं ब्रह्मास्मि" (बृ. २-५-१०.), "मनसैवेदमाप्तव्यं नेह नानास्ति किंचन" (कठ. ४-११) इति ।

अथ लोकन्याय (लोकानुभव) मूलभूता वेदभागा उदाह्रियन्ते । लोकानुभवः स्वकीयोपद्रवपरिहाराय मातापितरौ पुत्रान् पुष्णीत इति । अस्य मूलं — "अस्मै वै पितरौ पुत्रान् बिभृतः" (तै. सं. ६-१-६) इति । वाक्यमिदं कद्रूश्च वै सुपर्णी चात्मरूपयोरस्पर्धेतामित्यनुवाके घटकम् । अस्य भावमात्रमनूद्यते कद्रूः सौन्दर्येणाधिका उत सुपर्णी इति विवादे प्रसक्ते मध्यस्थाः कद्रूरेव सौन्दर्येणाधिका इति निरणयन् । तदात्वे दासाभूतां सुपर्णीं कद्रूः आज्ञापयामास इतो लोकात्तृतीये लोके स्वर्गे सोमो वर्तते तमाहर । अथ दासीभावात् त्वां मोचयेयमिति । अथ स्वपुत्रान् गायत्र्यादिछन्दोरूपान् सुपर्णी अब्रवीत् पुन्नामनरकादिनानाविधदुःखेभ्यस्त्राणकर्तृत्वात् पुत्रशब्दवाच्या यूयं मां कद्रूदासीभावप्रयुक्तदुःखात् त्रातुं स्वर्गे स्थितां सोमलतामाहरत एवमादि दुःखपरिहारोद्देशेन खलु मातापितरौ पुत्रान् बिभृत इति । अथ मातुरादेशं शिरसा ऊह्य जगतीत्रिष्टुभ्गायत्रीछन्दांसि स्वर्गमगच्छन् तत्र जगतीत्रिष्टुभोः पराजयः गायत्र्या जयश्चाभूतामिति ।।

लोकानुभवः — प्रभूतघासभक्षणेन क्षीराधिक्यं गोषु । अत्र मूलं — "ऊर्जस्वतीः पयस्वतीरित्याह ऊर्जं हि पयः संभरति" इति वाक्यम् (तै. ब्रा. ३-२-१) । अन्नेनास्थ्याद्युपचयः अन्वयव्यतिरेकसिद्धः । अत्र मूलं — "मनुना कृता स्वधया वितष्टेत्याह मानवी हि पशुः स्वधाकृता (तै. ब्रा. ३-२-२)" इति । राजनियुक्तस्य भृत्यस्य मनुष्येभ्यो निर्भयत्वम् । अस्य मूलं—"अथो यथा वस्यसे प्रतिप्रोच्याहेदं करिष्यामीति एवमेव तदध्वर्युर्देवेभ्यः प्रतिप्रोच्य बर्हिर्दाति आत्मनोऽहिँ्सायम्" । (तै. ब्रा. ३-२-२) इति । तात्पर्यार्थः — यथा लोके कश्चित् भृत्यो राजनियोगात् ग्रामेषु गत्वा बलाद्गृह्यमाणं दधिक्षीरादिद्रव्यं वसुमत्ताय राज्ञे न तु मदर्थमिति प्रजानामग्रे प्रतिप्रोच्य निर्भयः सर्वथेदं हरिष्यामीति ब्रूते तद्वत् बलात् दर्भबृन्दं लूत्वा स्थितः अध्वर्युः इदं देवार्थं न तु मदर्थमिति प्रतिप्रोच्य निर्भयो भूत्वा सर्वथा दर्भबृन्दं हरिष्यामीति भावेन देवानां परिषूतमसीति मन्त्रं ब्रूते इति । दातुः प्रतिग्रहीत्रा स्तवनम् । अत्र मूलं—"अथो यथा प्रदात्रे पुण्यमाशास्ते एवमेवैना एतदुपस्तौति । तस्मात्प्रादादित्युन्नीय वन्दमाना उपस्तुवन्तः पशून् दुहन्ति" । (तै.ब्रा. ३-२-३) इति । विवरणम् — यथा लोके प्रभूतं धनं दत्तवते राज्ञे चिरं जीवेत्याशीर्वादं पुरोधाः करोति एवमेव एतेन सा विश्वायुः सा विश्वव्यचाः सा विश्वकर्मा" इति मन्त्रेण गाः स्तौति । यस्माच्छास्त्रीयदोहने स्तुतिराम्नायते तस्माल्लौकिकदोहनेऽपि प्रभूतं क्षीरं पूर्वेद्युरदादिति निश्चित्य हस्तेन वन्दमाना वाचा मम माता मम भगीनीत्येवं गाः स्तुवन्तो दुहन्तीति ।।

आर्. सूर्यप्र ाशशास्त्री

वेदेषु राजनीतिः

पितृदेवमनुष्याणां वेदश्चक्षुस्सनातनम् ।
अशक्यं चाप्रमेयं च वेदशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ।।

चातुर्वर्ण्यं त्रयो लोकाश्चत्वारश्चाश्रमाः पृथक् ।
भूतं भव्यं भविष्यं च सर्वं वेदात्प्रसिद्धयति ।।

(मनुस्मृतिः XII 94, 97)

अथाभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिहेतुभूतस्य धर्मस्य साधनभूताः सर्वस्मिन्नपि जगति वर्तमानानां प्राणिनामैहिकामुष्मिकपरममङ्गलसम्पादनाय परमकारुणिकाद्भगवतो निःश्वासरूपेण आविर्भावं प्राप्ता वेदा एवास्माकं धर्मसर्वस्वमिति केषामपि न परोक्षं विदुषाम् । न केवलं मानवानामपि तु देवानां पितॄणामपि वेद एव सनातनं चक्षुः । चतुर्णां वर्णानां त्रयाणां लोकानां चतुर्णामाश्रमाणां भूतस्य भव्यस्य भविष्यतश्च सकलस्यापि वस्तुजातस्य प्रसिद्धिस्थानं भगवती श्रुतिरेवेति ।।

तत्र सकलवस्तुजातमध्ये राजनीतेरप्यन्यतमत्वात् तस्या राजनीतेर्वेदमूलकत्वं दर्शयितुमिदानीं नीतिविषयं पुरस्कृत्य प्रस्तूयते ।।

राज्ञः प्रजापरिपालनं धर्मः

प्रजानां मध्ये वर्णाश्रमाणां तत्तद्वर्णमाश्रमं च पुरस्कृत्य यो यो धर्मो विहितस्तस्मिन् धर्मे प्रजानां व्यवस्थापनं च राजधर्मः । तथा च श्रुतिः —

१. "तस्माद्राज्ञा मनुष्या विधृताः ।

२. राज्ञा मनुष्यानन्वभवदित्यनुषङ्गः ।" इति ।

दशपूर्णमासप्रकरणे आज्यभागब्राह्मणे अग्नीषोमयोराज्यभागयोर्मध्यदेशे प्रधानदेवतायागस्थानत्वेन विधानप्रसङ्गे —

"राजानौ वा एतौ देवतानां यदग्नीषोमावन्तरा देवता इज्यन्ते" इति देवतानां मध्ये यत् यस्मात् राजानौ अग्नीषोमौ तयोरुभयोर्मध्ये प्रधानदेवता इज्यन्त इति विधाय तादृशमध्यदेशविधानं प्रशंसत् ताभ्यां राजभ्यामुभयतोऽवस्थिताभ्यामग्नीषोमाभ्यां मध्यदेशे विहिता अन्या देवता विशेषेण स्वामिना भृत्यवत् धृताः पोषिता भवन्ति । तस्मात्तथा यागानुष्ठानकारणात् राज्ञा मनुष्याः सर्वेऽपि विधृता विशेषेण पोषिता भवन्ति । राजशब्दो नात्र क्षत्रियजातिवचनः किन्तु जनपदपुरपालयितृपुरुषवचनः । एवमेव द्वितीयश्रुतेरपि "राजानमनुवर्तन्ते मनुष्या" इति । तथा च राजसूयप्रकरणे राजसूयस्य कर्तारं राजानं रत्निभ्य आवेदयति । अध्वर्युरिति कश्चन यागनिर्वाहकः ऋत्विक् । "एष वो भरता राजा" इति । हे क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रादयो जनाः; एष राजसूयकर्ता युष्माकं तत्तद्वर्णाश्रमधर्मासाङ्कर्याय राजा भवेत् इति । अनेन कर्मप्रकरणे राज्ञः प्रजापालनादिधर्माः प्रसङ्गत उक्ता इति ज्ञायते । एतान् वेदोक्तानेव राजधर्मान् तत्तद्राजनीतिप्रकरणेषु प्रत्यपादयन् मुनयः ।

तथा हि —

"अथ राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामीत्युपक्रम्य प्रथमतः राज्ञः प्रजापरिपालनं धर्म" इति ।

(विष्णुस्मृतिः)

"अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।
रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥" इति (मनुस्मृतिः VII-3)

"तस्मात्स्वधर्मं भूतानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् ।
स्वधर्मं सन्दधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥

व्यवस्थितार्यमर्यादः कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः ।
त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥ (अर्थशास्त्रम् १.३)

चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा दण्डेन पालितः ।
स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु ॥" इति (अर्थशास्त्रम् १.४)

क्षत्रिय एव राज्याधिकारी

राज्ञः धर्मानुक्त्वा इदानीं क्षत्रियस्यैव राज्ञः राज्याधिकार इति उच्यते । "न वै ब्राह्मणे राष्ट्रं रमत इति । यदा खलु वै राजा कामयते । अथ ब्राह्मणं जानाति" इति अश्वमेधप्रकरणम् । अत्र ब्राह्मणशब्दस्योपलक्षणं ब्राह्मणादिपरिपालने राष्ट्रं कदापि भाग्यसम्पन्नं न भवति किं च मर्यैवाधिपतिना भवितव्यमिति राजा यदि कामयेत तदा राजा राज्यं वशीकरोतीति । तथा चोक्तम् —

"ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेव संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि ।
सर्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्तव्यं परिरक्षणम् ॥" इति । (मनुस्मृतिः VIJ-2)

यथाशास्त्रमुपनयनादिसंस्करं प्राप्नुवता क्षत्रियेणास्य सर्वस्य शास्त्रानुसारेण नियमतो रक्षणं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । "राजपुत्रममात्यसम्पन्नं राज्ये स्थापयेदि"ति (अर्थशास्त्रम्) । अनेन क्षत्रिय एव राज्याधिकारीति सिद्धम् ॥

विद्याविनयादियुक्तस्य राज्याधिकारः

यो वेदोक्तप्रकारेण नीतिमार्गं जानाति स तावद्राज्यं परिपालयितुं समर्थः । तथा च होतृसृष्टिप्रसङ्गे जगत्सृष्टिमभिधायान्ते एवमुक्तम् — "य एवं विद्वान् परि च वर्तयते नि च । प्रजापतिरेव भूत्वा प्रजा अत्ति" इति य एवं विद्वान् स शिक्षकस्य प्रेरणं परिवर्तनं करोति । शिक्षिताभ्यः प्रजाभ्यः स्वपुरुषनिवारणं निवर्तनं च करोति । तदुभयकुशलः प्रजानां पालको भूत्वा सर्वाः प्रजा अत्ति अनुभवतीत्यर्थः । मन्त्रिपुरोहितादियुक्तः आत्मगुणसम्पन्नो राज्यपालनार्हः मन्त्रिपुरोहितादिवृत्तिषु ब्राह्मणान्नियुञ्जीत । तदानीमेव राज्यं वरिष्ठं भवति । तथा चोक्तमग्निचयनप्रकरण —

"सँशितं ब्रह्म सँशितं वीर्यं बलम् ।
सँशितं क्षत्रं जिष्णु यस्याहमस्मि पुरोहितः" ॥ इति ।

अध्वर्युणा ब्राह्मणेन एवं प्रार्थ्यते — मे मदीयं ब्राह्मण्यं यथोक्तकर्मानुष्ठानेन सम्यक् तीक्ष्णीकृतं भवतु । तथा वीर्यमिन्द्रियशक्तिः; बलं शरीरजशक्तिः, तदुभयं सँशितं सम्यक् स्वकार्यक्षमम् । तथा यस्य क्षत्रस्य राज्ञः अहं पुरोहितोऽस्मि मे मदीयं तत्क्षत्रं जिष्णु जयशीलं

यथा भवति तथा तत् तीक्ष्णीकृतमस्तु इति । अस्मिन् मन्त्रे ब्रह्मक्षत्रयोः सँशितत्वं यदुक्तं तत्र परस्परोपकारो विज्ञायते । ब्राह्मणेनैव पुरोहितेन राजधर्मः तीक्ष्णीकृतो भवति । राज्ञा नियामकेन ब्राह्मणोऽपि सँशितः स्वाचारे नियमितो भवति । यस्मादेवं तस्मात् राजन्येन स्वामिना युक्तो ब्राह्मणः स्वामिरहितं ब्राह्मणमतिक्रम्य विशिष्टो भवति । राजा धर्मबोधकेन पुरोहितेन ब्राह्मणेन युक्तः तद्रहितमधार्मिकं राजन्यमतिक्रम्य परिपालने पटीयान् भवति । एवमेवामात्योऽपि ब्राह्मण एव भवितव्यः । तदेवोक्तमग्निचयनब्राह्मणे समितमित्याह । "तस्मात् ब्रह्मणा क्षत्रँ समेति" इति समितमित्यादि चतसृभिः ऋग्भिर्गार्हपत्याग्नौ उक्थ्याग्निं संयोजयेत् । तयोरुभयोरग्न्योरहमेवाहु-त्याधारो भूयासमहमेवेति परस्परं विद्वेषः संजायेत । तत्परिहाराय संयोजयेत् । तादृशसंयोग प्रकाशकमन्त्रोच्चारणसामर्थ्येन ब्राह्मणेन मन्त्रिणा क्षत्रियरूपो राजा संगच्छते । तमेव तदग्निद्वयं प्रशंसत् ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियसंयोगस्यापि प्रयोजनमुक्तम् । "यत्संनुप्य विहरति तस्माद् ब्रह्मणा क्षत्रं व्येति" इत्यस्य श्रुतिवाक्यस्य यस्मादग्निद्वयं संयोज्य तस्मिन् संयुक्ते अग्नौ विहरणमुत्तरकालीनं विविधमनुष्ठानं करोति तस्माल्लोकेऽपि ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययोः संयुक्तयोस्सतोः पश्चाद्ब्राह्मणेन नियमितः क्षत्रियो विविधं शास्त्रीयं राज्यपरिपालनं कर्तुं समर्थो भवति । अनेन कर्मप्रकरणे तत्तत्कर्मप्रतिपादनव्याजेन विद्याविनीतो यथोक्तपुरोहितादिसहित एव राजा राज्यपरिपालनार्हः इति काचन नीतिः प्रतिपादितेत्यर्थः ।

कौटिल्योऽप्याह

"विद्याविनीतो राजा हि प्रजानां विनये रतः ।
अनन्यां पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते सर्वभूतहिते रतः ॥ (१.५)

सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं चक्रमेकं न वर्तते ।
कुर्वीत सचिवांस्तस्मात्तेषां च शृणुयान्मतम् ॥ (१.७)

ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् ।
जयत्यजितमत्यन्तं शास्त्रानुगमशस्त्रितम् ॥" इति (१.९)

पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषी-णामथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत इति । तमाचार्यं (पुरोहित) शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत इति । अभिजनप्रज्ञाशौचशौर्यानुरागयुक्तानमात्यान् कुर्वीत इति ।

विष्णुस्मृतावपि – 'स्वयमेव व्यवहारान् पश्येत् । विद्वद्भिर्ब्राह्मणैस्सार्धं व्यवहारदर्शने ब्राह्मणं वा नियुञ्ज्यादि"ति । पूर्वोक्तलक्षणसम्पन्नः पुरोहितादिसहितः यो राज्यं परिपालयति स राजा प्रथमतो राष्ट्रे पालकवर्गेषु पाल्यवर्गेषु चानेकदोषपरिहारपूर्वकमैक्यमुपकल्प्य सङ्घीभावं स्थापयेत् । तत्र तावदेषोऽपि नियमः परिपालनीयः यः सङ्घधर्मानतिक्रामेत् स तावत् सङ्घान्निष्कासितव्य इति । तथा च श्रुतिः – "दैवासुरास्संयत्ता आसन् । ते देवा मिथो विप्रिया आसन्......स आर्तिमार्छति" इति । पुरा देवाश्चासुराश्च संग्रामं प्राप्ताः ते च देवाः सर्वेऽपि परस्परव्यतिरिक्तस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यां प्रधानमन्त्रिपदवीमनङ्गीकुर्वाणाः पञ्च व्यूहा अभवन् । तेषु व्यूहेषु अग्निः सोमः इन्द्रः वरुणः बृहस्पतिरित्येते पञ्च देवाः सेनापतयः वस्वादयः पञ्चगणा इति च विभाजिताः । ततस्ते कञ्चित्कालं परस्परविरोधिनो भूत्वा पश्चादेवं विचारितवन्तः । "यदि वयमन्योन्यं विरोधिनः तदा असुराणां जयरूपं कार्यं वयमेव साधयामः । अतस्तद्विरोधपरिहारहेतुं शपथं कर्तुमस्मदीयाः प्रियाः पुत्रभार्यादिरूपा एकत्र सङ्गीकुर्म इति विचार्य ततस्सङ्गीकृत्य शपथमेवं परिभाषितवन्तः । अस्माकं मध्ये यः प्रथमं सङ्घधर्माननतिक्रम्यान्योऽन्यस्मै द्रुह्यति स ताभ्यः सङ्गीभूतेभ्यो निर्गच्छेदि"ति ।

धस्माद्देवतानामेवं वृत्तं तस्मान्मनुष्याणामपि सङ्गीभूय राज्यं पालयाम" इति । शपथं कृतवतां मध्ये यः प्रथमं द्रुह्यति स विनाशं प्राप्नोति । यद्यपीयं श्रुतिः ज्योतिष्टोमप्रकरणे तत्कर्मसमाप्त्यर्थमृत्विजामैक्यसंपादनाय तानूनप्तनामकमाज्यग्रहणं विधातुं प्रस्तौति, तथाप्यवान्तरतात्पर्येण राज्यपरिपालने शत्रुनिष्कासद्वारा स्वस्य जयरूपं कार्यं साधयितुं पाल्यपालकयोः पालकानां मध्येऽपि चात्यन्तमैक्यसम्पादनमावश्यकमिति काचन नीतिः प्रतिपादिता ॥

परराज्यसम्पादनप्रकारः

एवमेव शत्रुराज्यं सम्पादयितुमन्या नीतिः तस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे उपसन्नामकेष्टिविधानप्रसङ्गे उक्ता । "तेषामसुराणां तिस्रः पुर आसन्नयस्मय्यवमाथ रजताथ हरिणेता देवा जेतुं नाशक्नुवन्नुपसदैवाजिगीषन् तस्मादाहूर्यश्चैवं वेद यश्च नोपसदा वै महापुरं जयन्तीति ता इष्टं समस्कुर्वीताम्ने मनीकं सोमं शल्यं विष्णुं तेजनं ते ऽब्रुवन् क्व इमामसिष्यन्तीति रुद्रा इत्यब्रुवन् रुद्रो वै क्रूरः सौस्यत्विति सोऽब्रवीद्वरं वृणा अहमेव पशूनामधिपतिरसानीति" इति । ये असुराः पूर्वमग्निना पराभूताः तेषामसुराणां पृथिव्यन्तरिक्षद्युलोकेषु स्वरक्षार्थं तिस्रः पुरः दुर्गरूपा आसन् । तासु पृथिवीवर्तिनी लोहप्राकारवेष्टिता अन्तरिक्षवर्तिनी रजतप्राकारवेष्टिता द्युलोकवर्तिनी हिरण्यप्राकारवेष्टिता चासन् । तादृशीः पुरः कदाचिदसिनाऽपि जेतुमशक्ता युद्धं परित्यज्य उपसदैव जेतुमैच्छन् । उपसच्छब्दस्यायमर्थः । उप समीपे सीदति इति उपसत् । दुर्गं परितो ऽवरुध्य चिरं तत्समीपे ऽवस्थानम्, एवं चिरकालावस्थाने सति दुर्गमध्ये अन्नपानादिक्षयादन्तर्भेदाद्वा जयो भविष्यतीति । यस्माद्देवैः चिरवासः जयोपायत्वेन विचारितः तस्माल्लोकेऽप्याहुः यो यश्च वेदाध्ययनेन वेदविचारं जानाति यो यश्च न जानाति ते सर्वेऽपि युद्धेनाजेयं महापुरं उपसदा जेतुं शक्यमित्याहुः । वैरिदुर्गं परितो ऽवरुध्य चिरकालावस्थानरूपोपसदा जयरूपं कार्यं यन्निर्वर्तितं तत्कार्यकारित्वादेव कर्मप्रकरणे इष्टेरपि उपसदिति नाम संपन्नम् । अस्याः श्रुतेः कर्मप्रकरणस्थत्वेऽप्यवान्तरतात्पर्येण चिरकालावस्थानरूपोपायेनाजेयमपि वैरिदुर्गं जेतुं शक्यमिति काचन नीतिः प्रतिपादिता भवति ।

एवमेवान्यत्राप्युक्तं द्विदेवत्यग्रहब्राह्मणे "तस्माद्राज्ञा राजानमंशभुवा घ्नन्ति वैश्येन वैश्यं शूद्रेण शूद्रं" इति । अत्र सोमो राजा तं राजानमभिषवं कर्तुं तद्दायादं वरुणं राजानं देवाः प्रार्थयामासुः । तदानीं स वरुणः तस्मै मित्राय च सह सोमग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति वरं वृत्वा ततो वरुणः सोमराजहनने देवानां साहाय्यमकरोत् । एतत्सामर्थ्येनैव इदानीमपि लोके दायादेन राज्ञा राजानं वैश्येन वैश्यं शूद्रेण शूद्रमन्ये शत्रवो घ्नन्ति ताडयन्ति यथा रामः विभीषणसाहाय्येन रावणं जघानेति ।

कौटिल्योऽप्याह–"परभूमौ राजव्यसने मित्रेणामित्रव्यञ्जनेन शत्रोस्सन्धिमवस्थाप्यापगच्छेत् । सामन्तादीनामन्यतमं वा अस्य दुर्गे ऽवस्थाप्योपगच्छेत् । राज्यकारणाद्धि पिता पुत्रान्, पुत्राश्च पितरमभिद्रुह्यन्तीति । तेन चात्मवृद्धिः परक्षयो भविष्यति । एतदुभयसिद्ध्यर्थमेव षाड्गुण्यप्रयोग उक्तः विजिगीषुः षाड्गुण्यमुपयुञ्जीत । समज्यायोभ्यां संधीयेत । हीनेन विगृह्णीयात् । येन वा विगृहीतो मया संधत्ते तेनास्य विग्रहं दीर्घं करिष्यामि मया वा संहितस्य मद्द्वेषिणः जनपदं पीडयिष्यन्ति परोपहतो वा अस्य जनपदो मा मा गमिष्यति । ततः कर्मसु वृद्धिं प्राप्स्यामि । शत्रुप्रतिबद्धं वा शत्रुणा सन्धिं कृत्वा मण्डलं भेत्स्यामि । शत्रुमुपगृह्य मण्डललिप्सायां विद्वेषं ग्राहयिष्यामि । विद्विष्टं तेनैव घातयिष्यामीति वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत् । परक्षयो भविष्यति" इति । एष

एवार्थः शिशुपालवधाख्यमहाकाव्येऽप्युक्तः शत्रुं वशीकर्तुं नीतिस्वरूपपर्यालोचनयापि न विलम्बः कार्य इति । यथा—

"आत्मोदयः परज्यानिर्द्वयं नीतिरितीयती" इति । (शि. II. ३०)

युद्धप्रकारवर्णनम्

पूर्वोक्तोपायेन जयरूपकार्यसाधनेन विलम्बो भविष्यतीति मत्वा तद्विलम्बो मा भूदिति यदि योद्धुमिच्छति तमुद्दिश्य युद्धप्रकारमपि वर्णयति । तथा हि – राजसूयान्तर्गतचातुर्मास्यप्रकरणे वैश्वदेवनामके पर्वणि आग्नेयादियागक्रमविधानप्रसङ्गे तावदभिहितम् । "देवा असुरास्संयत्ता आसन् सोऽग्निरब्रवीत् । मामग्रे यजत मया मुखेनासुरान् जेष्यथेति । मां द्वितीयमिति सोमोऽब्रवीत् मया राज्ञा जेष्यथेति । मां तृतीयमिति सविता मया प्रसूता जेष्यथेति । मां चतुर्थमिति सरस्वती इन्द्रियं वोऽहं दास्यामीति । मां पञ्चममिति पूषा मया प्रतिष्ठया जेष्यथेति । ततो वै देवा व्यजयन्त" इति । पुरा देवाश्च असुराश्च युद्धसन्नद्धा आसन् । लोके युद्धार्थमुद्यतायां सेनायां केचन शूरा भटाः मुखतो योद्धुं गच्छन्ति । तेषां युद्धं द्रष्टुं कश्चिद्राजा स्वामित्वेन सन्निधत्ते । केचन दण्डहस्ताः पृष्ठतः स्थित्वा योद्धॄनपरावृत्तये बलात् प्रेरयन्ति । अन्ये केचन दुन्दुभ्यादिजयघोषेण योद्धॄणामुत्साहं जनयन्ति । अपरा कियत्यपि सेना पुरो गताया युद्धयन्त्यास्सेनायाः पृष्ठतः सहायत्वेनावतिष्ठते । तानेतान् पञ्चविधव्यापारानग्न्यादयः क्रमेण स्वीकृतवन्तः । ततो देवानां जयोऽभूत् । ततोऽत्रापि पञ्चहविषां निवापे जयो भवति । तथा च अग्निस्सेनापत्यं स्वीचकार । सोमो राजकार्यनिर्वहणे प्रयुक्तः । सविता योद्धॄणामुत्साहजननार्थं न परावर्तितव्यमिति प्रवर्तकोऽभवत् । अत एव चोक्तम् योद्धॄणामत्यन्तमुत्साहादिकमावश्यकमिति कामन्दकनीतिसारे —

"धीमानुत्साहसंपन्नः व्यवसायसमन्वितः ।
भाजनं परमं श्रीणामपामिव महार्णवः ।।" इति

कार्यालोचनोत्साहव्यवसायात्मकत्रितययोगादेव जयरूपं फलं सिद्ध्यतीति उद्घोष्यते । एवमेवोत्साहप्रभावयोरुत्साहः श्रेयान् । स्वयं हि राजा शूरो बलवानरोगश्च कृतास्त्रः दण्डद्वीतीयोऽपि शक्तः प्रभाववन्तं राजानं जेतुमल्पोऽपि चास्य दण्डः तेजसा कृत्यकरो भवति । निरुत्साहस्तु प्रभाववान् राजा विक्रमाभिपन्नो नश्यतीति आचार्या इति ।

किंच परावृत्तस्य जयकार्याभावे दोषोऽपि मनुना उक्तः । यथा —

"यस्तु भीतः परावृत्तस्संग्रामे हन्यते परैः ।
भर्तुर्यद्दुष्कृतं किंचित्तत्सर्वं प्रतिपद्यते ।।

यच्चास्य सुकृतं किंचिदमुत्रार्थमुपार्जितम् ।
भर्ता तत्सर्वमादत्ते परावृत्तहतस्य तु ।।" (मनुस्मृतिः VII. 94,95) इति ।

यः सेनापतिः परावृत्तस्सन् शत्रुभिस्संग्रामे हन्यते सः प्रभुकृतदुष्कृतं प्राप्नोति अस्य सेनापतेः पूर्वोपार्जितं यत्सुकृतं विद्यते तत्सर्वं प्रभुः स्वीकरोति अत एव युद्धे उत्साहजननमावश्यकमिति । योद्धॄणां पृष्ठतः कश्चिदुषित्वा भेरीमृदङ्गादिध्वनिपुरस्सरमस्माकमेव जयो भवतीति श्रावयेदित्यादिना कर्मप्रकरणे युद्धप्रकारोऽपि वर्णितः ।

आत्मरक्षणोपायवर्णनम्

तस्मिन् युद्धे आत्मरक्षणोपाय एवं वर्णितः । यथा–"राजसूयप्रकरणे पात मा प्रत्यञ्चं पात मा तिर्यञ्चमन्वञ्चं मा पात दिग्भ्यो मा पात विश्वाभ्यो मा नाष्ट्राभ्यः पात । राजसूययागे राजसूयकर्तुः

यजमानस्य शत्रुबाधना स्थेत्यनेन मन्त्रेण त्रीन् बाणाग्रयुक्तानिषूनध्वर्युः प्रयच्छति । तदानीं प्रदीयमानान् बाणान् यजमानोऽनुमन्त्रयते पात मा" इति । यदा वैरी पुरतः स्थित्वा बाणं मुञ्चति तदानीमयं विध्यमानो बाणस्य प्रत्यङ्मुखो भवति । पार्श्वयोः स्थित्वा बाणमोक्षणेऽयं तिर्यग्भवति । पृष्ठतः स्थित्वा बाणमोक्षणे पलायमानोऽयमन्वग्भवति । हे मदीया बाणाः प्रत्यगादि-रूपं मां पात परकीयेभ्यो यथोक्तप्रकारेण मां प्रत्यागच्छद्भ्यो बाणेभ्यो रक्षत । युद्धकुशला हि स्वकीयैर्बाणैः परकीयानपसारयन्ति खण्डयन्ति हि । अतो मद्धस्तेऽवस्थिता हे बाणाः सर्वाभ्यो दिग्भ्यो मां पात इति ।

पुरस्तादभिहत्य प्रचलं विमुखं वा पृष्ठतः हस्त्यश्वेनाभिहन्यात् पुरस्तात् विषमायां पृष्ठतो-ऽभिहन्यात् पृष्ठतो विषमायां पुरस्तादभिहन्यात् पार्श्वतो विषमायामितस्ततोऽभिहन्यादिति प्रकारान्तरेणार्थशास्त्रे च कूटयुद्धविकल्पप्रकरणे वर्णितम् ॥

करादानपद्धतिरूपा नीतिः

एवं युद्धविषयिकां नीतिमुपवर्ण्य तत आयत्तीकृते राज्ये करादानपद्धतिरूपा राजनीति-रभिधीयते —

"इन्द्रस्यार्कस्य वायोश्च यमस्य वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रस्याग्नेः पृथिव्याश्च तेजोवृत्तं नृपश्चरेत् ॥

वार्षिकांश्चतुरो मासान् यथेन्द्रोऽभिप्रवर्षति ।
तथाभिवर्षेत्स्वं राष्ट्रं कामैरिन्द्रव्रतं चरेत् ॥

अष्टौ मासान् यथादित्यः तथा हरति पावकः ।
तथा हरेत्करं राष्ट्रान्नित्यमर्कव्रतं हि तत् ॥" (मनुस्मृतिः IX. 303-5) इति ।

तस्माद्राज्याधिपती राजा इन्द्राद्यष्टमात्रानिर्मितो भवति । तस्मादिन्द्रादय इव राष्ट्रान्तर्गतप्रजानां सर्वासां जलादिसौकर्याणि सम्पाद्य ताभ्यः प्रजाभ्यो यथा आदित्यो रश्मिभिर्भूमिस्थमुदकं हरति तथा राजा तत्तद्ग्रामपालैः करमाददीत । तदेव वेदेऽपि जगत्सृष्टिमभिधाय तत्सृष्टौ इन्द्रस्य देवाधि पतित्वकथनावसरे श्रुतिराह — "ततो वा इन्द्रो देवानामधिपतिरभवत् । इतीन्द्रस्य देवाधिपति-त्वमुक्तम् । ततस्स प्रजापतिरेव भूत्वा प्रजा आवयत् । ता अस्मै नातिष्ठन्तान्नाद्याय ता मुखं पुरस्तात्पश्यन्तीर्दक्षिणतः पर्यायन् । स दक्षिणतः पर्यवर्तयत । त. मुखं पुरस्तात्पश्यन्तीर्मुखं दक्षिणतः पश्चात्पर्यायन् । स पश्चात्पर्यवर्तयत । ता मुखं पुरस्तात्पश्यन्तीर्मुखं दक्षिणतः मुखं पश्चा दुत्तरतः पर्यायन् । स उत्तरतः पर्यवर्तयत । ता मुखं पुरस्तात्पश्यन्तीर्मुखं दक्षिणतः मुखं पश्चात् मुखमुत्तरतः । ऊर्ध्वा उदायन् स उपरिष्टान्न्यवर्तयत । तास्सर्वतोमुखो भूत्वावयत् ततो वै तस्मै प्रजा अतिष्ठन्तान्नाद्याय" (तै. ब्रा. २-२-१०) इत्यस्याः श्रुतेः व्याख्यानावसरे भाष्याकारैर्विद्यारण्यचरणैरेतत्प्रतीको दर्शितः । अथ इन्द्रस्य राजनीत्या प्रजाभ्यस्सम्पादनप्रकारं दर्शयतीति स इन्द्रः स्वयं प्रजापतिसमानसामर्थ्ययुक्तो भूत्वा प्रजाः स्वाधीना अकरोत् । स्वस्वोचितं करं दातुमाज्ञापितवान् । ताः प्रजा अस्मै इन्द्रायान्नभोगकरं दातुं नाङ्गी कुर्वन्नित्यर्थः । तास्तथाविधाः प्रजाः पूर्वस्यां दिशि वर्तमाना इन्द्रस्य मुख्यं कंचिदिन्द्रप्रेषितं करस्वीकारक्षमं भृत्यं पूर्वस्यां दिशि पश्यन्त्यो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि गताः । ततस्स इन्द्रस्तदवगत्य स्वमुखसमानं प्रबलपुरुषं दक्षिणस्यां दिशि प्रेरितवान् । तत्रापि करस्वीकाराधिपतिं दृष्ट्वा ततः प्रजा अन्यस्यां दिशि प्राविशन् । एवमेव सर्वास्वपि दिक्षु करं दातुमनङ्गीकुर्वाणानां तासां प्रजानां

पलायनमवगत्य सर्वत्र स्वभृत्यानवस्थाप्य तद्वारा स्वयं सर्वतोमुखो भूत्वा सर्वाः प्रजा वशीकृतवान्। अत एवेदानीमप्येकस्य राज्ञः सर्वत्र स्वयमेवावस्थानमशक्यमिति राज्ञा तत्तद्ग्रामनगरादिषु करादानादिरूपराजकार्यनिर्वहणार्थं स्वमुखसमानाः पुरुषा ग्रामाधिपतित्वेन नागराधिपतित्वेन च नियुज्यन्ते। मनुरप्याह —

"तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्याणि पृथक्कार्याणि चैव हि।
राज्ञोऽन्यस्सचिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्द्रितः॥

नगरे नगरे चैकं कुर्यात्सर्वार्थचिन्तकम्।
उच्चैःस्थाने घोररूपं नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहम्॥" (VII. 20, 21.) इति।

विष्णुस्मृतावपि — "तत्र स्वस्वग्रामाधिपान् कुर्यात् दशाध्यक्षान् शताध्यक्षान् देशाध्यक्षांश्च कुर्यात्। ग्रामदोषाणां ग्रामाध्यक्षः परिहारं कुर्यात्। अशक्तौ दशग्रामाध्यक्षाय, सोऽप्यशक्तो शताध्यक्षाय, सोऽप्यशक्तो देशाध्यक्षाय निवेदयेत् जन" इति। एवं सर्वास्वपि दिक्षु अवस्थापितैर्भृत्यैस्स्वायत्तीकृताः प्रजा दिगन्तरमलभमाना अस्येन्द्रस्यान्नभोगादिकरं दातुमुररीचक्रुः। ततो राजा अन्नसमृद्धिमानभवत्। तथा च श्रुतिः — "तिष्ठन्तेऽस्मै प्रजा अन्नाद्याय अन्नाद एव भवति" इति। अतो यः पुमान् वेदोक्तपरिपालनप्रकारं जानाति सः परिपालनकुशलस्सन् स्वयं प्रजानां पालको भवितुमर्हति। तथा चोक्तम् —

"सेनापत्यं च राज्यं च दण्डनेतृत्वमेव च।
सर्वलोकाधिपत्यं च वेदशास्त्रविदर्हति॥" (मनुस्मृतिः VII. 100.) इति।

अत्र राज्ञः प्रजापरिपालनं धर्म इति क्षत्रिय एव राज्याधिकारीति मन्त्रिपुरोहितादियुक्तः आत्मगुणसम्पन्नो राज्यपालनार्ह इति एतल्लक्षणयुक्तो राष्ट्रे ऐक्यमुपकल्प्य सङ्घीभावं स्थापयेदिति। ततश्शत्रुराज्यसम्पादनप्रकारः, ततो युद्धप्रकारः, युद्धे आत्मरक्षणोपायः, आयत्तीकृते राज्ये करादानपद्धतिरूपा नीतिश्च प्रदर्शिताः। एवमेव राजनीतिविषया बह्वो वेदेषु तत्र तत्र दृश्यन्ते। एतावता सर्वं वेदात्प्रसिध्यतीति न्यायेन राजनीतिर्वेदादेव प्रसिद्धा। वेदानां नैतिकतयापि उपयोग इति सिद्धम्॥

—*x*—

वे. वेङ्कटरामशर्मा

शौनकीया शिक्षा

भारतवर्षेऽस्मिन्, विशिष्य केरलेषु, अनादिकालादारभ्य आर्षो वैदिकविद्यासम्प्रदायो ऽतीवोपचितोऽवर्तत । वेदवेदाङ्गविदो दार्शनिकाः श्रौतस्मार्तयोः क्रियाकलापयोर्निष्णाताश्च वैदिका विद्वांसः सर्वतः सुलभा आसन् ।

"पदक्रमविशेषज्ञो वर्णक्रमविचक्षणः ।
स्वरमात्राविभागज्ञो गच्छेदाचार्यसम्पदम् ॥"

इत्युक्तरीत्या आचार्यसम्पदं पुष्कलां प्राप्ता बहुश्रुता विपश्चितश्च अतीव पूज्या व्यलसन् । एवमेतादृशान् दृढमूलान् विद्वद्द्रुमानाश्रित्य वैदिकविद्यावीरुदियं शाखोपशाखाभिः प्रतानिनी व्यवर्धत । केरलीयविप्राणां वेदोच्चारणे यावती शुद्धिस्तावती सा नान्यत्रोपलभ्यते ।

ऋग्वेदीयं वर्णोच्चारणमधिकृत्य प्रवृत्ता शौनकीया कापि शिक्षा पुरा केरलेषु प्रसिद्धा आसीत् । बहोः कालादारभ्य विलुप्तप्रचाराया नचिरात् मुद्राप्य प्रकाशितायास्तस्याः स्वरूपं सङ्ग्रहेण प्रतिपाद्यते —

शिक्षा शिक्षयति व्यक्तं वर्णोच्चारणलक्षणम् । बह्व्यः सन्ति शिक्षाः शौनकीयपाणिनीय-शैशिरीयापिशल्याद्याः । तत्र काचित् सर्ववेदसाधारणा । काचिदेकं वेदमधिकृत्य प्रवृत्ता, ऋचं यजुः साम वा । शौनकीया तु शिक्षा ऋग्वेदमधिकृत्य विरचिता । वर्णानां मात्रायत्न-स्थानकरणस्वराङ्गाङ्गिभावाक्षरत्वगुरुत्वलघुत्वसन्धिविकारादयोऽत्र संक्षिप्य प्रतिपाद्यन्ते ।

स्वरव्यञ्जनभेदेन वर्णजातं द्विविधम् । स्वतो राजन्ति ये वर्णास्ते स्वराः । स्वरैर्यानि व्यज्यन्ते स्फुटीक्रियन्ते तानि व्यञ्जनानि । अन्याधीनप्रकाशानि व्यञ्जनानि । सानुनासिक-निरनुनासिकोदात्तादिभेदेन अष्टषट्युत्तरशतं स्वरभेदः । अकारेकारोकाराश्चतुर्विंशतिधा भिन्नाः । अन्ये स्वराः षोडशधा । ये पुनः प्रचयस्यानुदात्तप्रकृतित्वात् त्रय एव स्वरा इत्याहुः तेषामष्टादशैव भेदाः । स्पर्शान्तस्थोष्मदुस्पृष्टयमानुस्वारविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयसंज्ञाभिर्नवधा भिन्नानि त्रिचत्वारिंशत्संख्यानि व्यञ्जनानि । तानि च व्यञ्जनानि स्वरपक्षपातीनि । "सोमानं स्वरणम्" इत्यत्रानुस्वारस्य पूर्वपक्षपातिता । "इन्द्रः किल" इत्यत्र विसर्जनीयस्यापि ।

अनन्तरं वर्णानां कालनियमो मात्रया क्रियते । ऋकारऌकारयोः विकारभूतौ यौ रेफल-कारौ तौ स्वरभक्तिरिति दुस्पृष्ट इति वोच्येते । "अग्निमीळे", "मीळ्हुष्टमशिवतम", "इळासाळ्हा" इत्याद्युदाहरणम् । एवं स्वरविकारभूता स्वरभक्तिः व्यञ्जनवदर्धमात्रा ज्ञेया । स्वरभक्तेः व्यञ्जनसन्निपातरूपे संयोगे परे पादमात्रा भवेत् । व्यञ्जनान्तर्भूतस्य अर्धमात्र-स्यानुस्वारस्य तद्युक्तयोर्ह्रस्वदीर्घयोश्च मात्रानियमे विशेषो वर्तते ।

द्वयोः स्वरयोरसंहितयोर्यन्मध्यं तद्विवृत्तिरित्युच्यते । पिपीलिकादिविवृत्तिभेदाश्च "पन्था आदित्यानाम्", "य इन्द्र", "य आत्मदाः", "ता अस्य" इत्येवमुदाहृताः । तासां मात्रा-विशेषः, व्यञ्जनान्तमक्षरमर्धमात्राधिकम् । यथा "इत्", "तत्" इति तु एकमात्रमेव व्यञ्जनाद्यत्वात् । विसर्गान्तं चाक्षरमध्यर्धमात्रम् य इति ।

वर्णानां स्वरव्यञ्जनभेदेन द्विविधानामङ्गाङ्गिनां कालो मात्राविशेषः कथितः । अथ वर्णानां स्थानानि । तत्र केषाञ्चिद् द्विस्थानत्वम् । अथ वर्णानां करणानि । तत्र परस्परयोगे

पूर्वरूपोत्तररूपसन्धानेषु यो यो विकारस्तत्कृताश्चोच्चारणभेदाः सकृदोष्ठत्वविहत्या सकृदोष्ठत्वेन च सञ्जायन्ते । यथा "यो देवो ःदेवतमः", "अनुषु पूरुषुस्थः सोमः पूरुषु जायते । उषो नो अद्य" इति । द्वितीयोदाहरणे उकारोच्चारणाय य ओष्ठव्यापारः तेनैव षोनो इत्योकारद्वयं वक्तव्यम् । न तयोः पृथगोष्ठव्यापारः कर्तव्यः । प्रथमोष्ठव्यापारेण सर्वानोष्ठचान् वर्णानुच्चारयेदित्यर्थः । अत्रापवादोप्यस्ति ।

वीरकरणम् । वीरं नामाङ्गानां पुनः पुनर्व्यापारः । पदान्तजं वर्णमुच्चार्य पदादिभूतस्य वर्णस्योच्चारणाय पुनर्व्यापारः कर्तव्यः । "मारे अस्मन्मघवन् ज्योक्करी" त्यत्र पदकाले कण्ठवीरं वक्तव्यम् । "उत्तराहमुत्तर" इत्यत्र दन्तवीरम् । "इमम्म" इत्यत्र ओष्ठवीरम् ।

अथ नकारस्य सन्धौ विकारकथनम् । नकारात् पूर्वस्वरो नासिक्यो भवेत् । स च रङ्ग इति कीर्तितः । "तांस्त्रायस्व", "आवदंस्त्वं शकुने", "तांश्च", "पुत्रांश्च" इत्याद्युदाहरणम् । रङ्गीक्रियमाणे मात्राधिक्यं न कारयेत् । ततो रङ्गस्थानानि । ततो मकारस्य सन्धौ विकारः । "इदङ्कवेः", "तङ्गीर्भिः", "किष्टघ्नन्ति", "सञ्चोदय", "तन्त्वा", "तं यत्", "संवर्धते" इत्याद्युदाहरणम् । अनन्तरं संयुक्तवर्णोच्चारणलक्षणम् । संयुक्तेऽक्षरे यानि व्यञ्जनानि तेषु प्रथमं पूर्वाक्षराङ्गमपोह्य यानि व्यञ्जनान्युत्तरेण स्वरेण संवेष्टचैकमात्रया पिण्डीकृत्योच्चरेत् । यथाहुः—

"यथा योक्त्रेण संवेष्टच तृणं बध्नन्ति वाहकाः ।
एवं स्वरेण संवेष्टच वदेत् संयुक्तमक्षरम् ॥" इति ।

ततः यमोच्चारणघनश्लथबन्धोदात्तादिस्वरविवरणम् । स्वरोच्चारणकाले हस्तप्रक्षेपविशेषकथनम् । कम्पविधिः । प्रणवस्वरूपकथनम् ।



रा कृष्णस्वामिघनपाठिनः

वेदलक्षणम्

सुविदितमेवैतत् सर्वेषां विदुषां यद्वेदानां वर्णोच्चारणस्वरनियमादौ कालतो देशतो वा क्वचिदपि विपर्ययो न संभवतीति । सर्वत्र भाषाविषये एवं वक्तुं न प्रभवामः । वैदिकपदानां वर्णस्वरोच्चारणेऽप्रकम्प्यो यः क्रमः तत्र निदानं प्रधानतया वेदस्वरूपसंरक्षणजागरूकाणि प्रातिशाख्यादिशास्त्राण्येव । लक्षणशब्दस्य निरूपकत्वमर्थः । तच्च लक्षणं तावत् वेदस्य प्रातिशाख्यं नाम शास्त्रम् । वैदिकशब्दानां स्वरूपनिरूपकत्वात् प्रातिशाख्यस्य वेदलक्षणत्वम् ।

"गुरुत्वं लघुता साम्यं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतानि च ।
लोपागमविकाराश्च प्रकृतिर्विक्रमः क्रमः ।।

स्वरितोदात्तनीचत्वं श्वासो नादोङ्गमेव च ।
एतत्सर्वं तु विज्ञेयं छन्दो भाषामधीयता ।।

ध्वनिस्थानं च करणं प्रयत्नः कालता स्वरः ।
देवता जातिरेतैश्च वर्णा ज्ञेया विचक्षणैः ।।"

इति शास्त्रानुसारेण गुरुलघ्वादिविज्ञानार्थं प्रातिशाख्यमावश्यकम् । यद्यपि शिक्षाव्याकरणादिशास्त्रैः गुरुलघ्वादिविज्ञानं सर्वमुपदिष्टं तथापि तत्तत्र न सुग्रहम् विप्रकीर्णत्वात् विषयविभागानवगमात् लौकिकवैदिकसाधारण्यात् विशेषतोऽनुपदेशाच्च । सन्ति तावन्नव व्याकरणानि लौकिकवैदिकशब्दसाधारणानि । तत्र यानि कार्याणि छन्दोमात्रविषयाणि पठ्यन्ते तान्यपि प्रायशः सर्ववेदशाखासाधारणानि भवन्ति । तत्र ये कार्यविकल्पाः स्वरितो वा अनुदात्ते पदादौ इत्येवमादयः, ते छन्दसि सर्वेषु स्वरविषयेषु तुल्यं न प्रवर्तन्ते भाषायामिव । किन्तु विषयभेदात् व्यवतिष्ठन्ते । ये तु नित्याः कार्यविधयः तेऽपि छन्दसि विकल्प्यन्त इति । ये तु अनियतविषया विधयः बहुलं छन्दसि इत्येवमादयः तेषां विषयविभाग एव दुष्करः । तथा "व्यत्ययो बहुलम्" "दृष्टानुविधि छन्दसि" इत्यादौ कार्यस्वरूपमपि दुर्ग्रहम् । किमुत विषयविभागः । एवं शिक्षास्वपि लोकवेदसाधारणा उपदेशा भवन्ति । "अष्टषष्टिं वदन्त्येके चतुष्षष्टिमथापरे" इति । एतेषामपि विषयविभागो नावगम्यते । तस्मात् परमकारुणिका विद्वांसः, महर्षयः, प्रतिशाखव्यवस्थितानां शिक्षाव्याकरणोपदिष्टकार्याणां विस्पष्टोपदेशानि लक्षणानि प्रणयन्ति स्म । अपि च क्वचित् शास्त्रान्तरैरनुपदिष्टोऽपि कार्यविशेषः प्रातिशाख्येनैव केवलमवगम्यते । यथा "अश्मन्" इति पदस्य शिक्षाव्याकरणादिभिः शास्त्रैः वैकल्पिकशकारद्वित्वमेव केवलमुपदिष्टम् । अत्र तु शकारद्वित्वमकारयोर्मध्ये "अघोषादूष्मणः प्रथमोऽभिनिधानः", "स्पर्शपरात्तस्य स स्थानः," इत्यनेनैव शास्त्रेणेतरविलक्षणः कश्चिदागमः पकाररूपोऽभिनिधाननामा विधीयते । अतः

"विकल्पभाजां शास्त्राणामपि तुष्टानुवर्तिनाम् ।
तत्तच्छाखाविशेषेषु व्यवस्थार्थमिदं स्मृतम् ।।"

इत्युक्तरीत्या प्रातिशाख्याभिधानस्य लक्षणस्य वैदिकपदस्वरूपनिष्कर्षेऽत्यन्तोपयोगित्वमव्याहतम् ।।

इट्टिरवि नम्बूतिरि

केरळेषु वेदाध्ययनसंप्रदायः

डिसम्बर्मासस्य द्वादशदिनात् प्रभृति त्रीण्यहानि वैदिकानां कापि सभा वाराणस्यां हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालयस्य सांमुख्ये प्रवृत्ता । तस्यां च सन्निधातुं कृतभाग्यस्य मम तत्तद्देशीयं वेदाध्ययन-सम्प्रदायं किञ्चिदिवावगन्तुमवसरो लब्धः । तदा पूर्वं केरलेषु श्रद्धावद्भिर्महता प्रयत्नेन परिरक्षि-तमध्ययनसम्प्रदायमधिकृत्य का अपि चिन्ता मम मनसि उदभूवन् । ता अत्र यथाशक्ति वाचा प्रकाशयितुमुद्युक्तोऽस्मीति वैदिकपण्डितानामनुग्रहं याचे ।

विदितमेवैतद्यद् ऋग्यजुस्सामाथर्वभेदेन चतुर्विधेषु वेदेषु तुरीयस्याथर्ववेदस्य अधुना अत्यन्तं विरलप्रचारत्वात् त्रय्येव प्रायशः अध्ययनसम्प्रदायं निविष्टा परिदृश्यत इति । द्वापरयुगस्यान्ते एकरूपतया स्थितं कृत्स्नं वेदराशिं भगवान् वेदव्यासः व्यस्य सुमन्तुवैशंपायनजैमिनिपैलेभ्य एकैकं वेदं दत्तवानिति च प्रसिद्धिः । तस्मिन् काले आहत्य चतुर्षु वेदेषु ११३१ शाखाः आसन्नित्यपि श्रूयते । तद्यथा – ऋचां २१, यजुषो १०१, साम्नः १०००, अथर्वणः ९, इति । अधुना तु कतिपय एव शाखाः आसु शिष्टा उपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र शाखानां परस्परं न केवलं पाठभेदः किन्तु अध्ययनसम्प्रदायभेदोऽपि समस्ति । पूर्वनिर्दिष्टायां सभायां विभिन्नेभ्यः प्रदेशेभ्यः समागता-नामधीतिनामेकत्र सम्मेलनेन अन्योन्यस्योच्चारणादि श्रोतुं समुपलब्धेन सौलभ्येन च एकस्या एव शाखायाः पाठसम्प्रदाये के वा भेदाः वर्तन्त इति ज्ञातुं शक्यमभवत् । ऋग्विषये यजुर्विषये च केरलीयानां तदितराणाञ्च पाठपरिपाटी सामान्यतो नात्यन्तभिन्ना । परन्तु सामविषये केरलीयानामन्यदेशीयानां च पाठसम्प्रदाये महदन्तरं परिदृश्यते । केरलीयानां सामपाठे कम्पोऽधि-कतरः । इतरदेशीयानां पाठे गीतस्वराणां षड्जादीनां प्राधान्यं वर्तते । केरलेषु तु मध्यमस्वर एव केवलमाश्रीयते सप्तमो निषादो नोपयुज्यत एव । अन्यत्र तु सामपाठेऽर्वाचीनस्य संगीत-सम्प्रदायस्य प्रभावस्तत्र तत्र परिदृश्यमान इव मम प्रत्यभात् ।

केरलेष्वपि इतरदेशेष्विव गुरुमुखोच्चारणानूच्चारणेन वेदमधीयानानां संख्या प्रतिदिनं ह्रासग्रस्ता भवतीति वस्तुकथनम् । सामवेदस्य जैमिनिशाखीयाः प्रायेण केरलेषु दृश्यन्ते । तेषु केचन नम्बूतिरिब्राह्मणा अन्ये च चोलियनामधेयाः केरलानधिवसन्तो द्राविडब्राह्मणाः । तत्र नम्बूतिरिषु विंशतिर्गृहा एव अधुना एतच्छाखीयाः । तत्रापि वेदज्ञाः सप्त वा अष्ट वा केवलं सन्ति । तेऽपि प्रायेण पञ्चाशदुपरि वयसि स्थिताः । ऋचो यजुषश्च विषयेऽपि इदमेव वस्तु । तथापि ऋग्वेदे अधीयानानां संख्या शिवपुरे श्रीनावक्षेत्रे च पाठशालासु नात्यन्तं विरला अधुनापीति मोदस्थानमेतत् ।

कोल्लं।०८।मित्यपरनामधेयस्य केरलाब्दस्य १,१०० तमात् वर्षादनन्तरमध्ययनसम्प्रदाये बहवो विपरिणामाः समजायन्त । ततः पूर्वं प्रायशः सर्वेऽपि नम्बूतिरिद्विजाः सप्तमादारभ्य द्वादश-वयःपर्यन्तं वेदाध्ययनं नियमेन कुर्वाणा आसत । १,१०० तमवर्षे प्रायेण शतेषु पञ्चसप्ततिः ऋग्वेदिनः पञ्चाशीतिर्यजुर्वेदिनः एकोनशतं सामवेदिनश्च ग्रन्थसाहाय्यमनपेक्ष्यैव स्वां स्वां शाखां सम्यगध्येतुं शक्ता आसन् । तदा सामवेदस्य मुद्रितग्रन्थ एव नासीत् । यद्यपि ऋग्यजुषो-र्मुद्रितग्रन्थाः सुलभा आसन्, तथापि न कोऽपि तेषामुपयोगे श्रद्धालुरासीत् । न केवलमेतावत्, पुस्तकापेक्षमध्ययनं लज्जावहमित्यपि आसीत् बहूनां मतिः । देवालयेषु आढ्यानां गृहस्थानां गृहेषु च बहूनां वेदाध्ययनाय समग्रा सामग्री सम्पन्ना आसीत् । अध्यापनार्थं च तत्तद्देषु सम्यगधीतिनो

नयुक्ता आसन् । यदि कार्यान्तरव्यग्रतया इतरहेतोर्वा वेदाधीतिनः पुरोहितस्य अध्यापनसौकरी न स्यात् तदा पिता वा पितृव्यो वा ज्येष्ठभ्राता वा अध्यापनकार्यं निरवर्तयत् । यद्येकस्मिन् ग्रामे बहवो गृहाः तेषु च उपनीता बाला भवेयुः तदा सर्वेषामपि तेषामध्यापनं यस्मिन् कस्मिंश्चिदपि गृहे यथासौकर्यं निर्वर्तितमभूत् । अध्ययनार्थं यः कोऽपि वटुः कस्मिन्नपि गृहे वसति-चेत् तत् तस्य गृहस्य धन्यता इत्यमन्यत । पूर्वोक्ते संवत्सरे अस्मत्पितृपादेषु जीवत्सु पञ्चदश वटवो मम गृह एव सामवेदमधीयाना आसन् । प्रायशः एकैकस्मिन्नपि आढ्यगृहे अष्टौ वा दश वा अधीयानो वासमकुर्वन् । एतदर्थं किमपि वेतनरूपेण पारितोषिकरूपेण कोऽपि न गृह्णाति ददाति च । अध्यापकाय आचार्याय केवलमध्ययनावसाने यत्किंचिद्द्रव्यं शिष्या ददति । कदाचित् पञ्चवत्सरान् संहितामधीत्य पञ्चाशद्रूप्यकाणि केवलं गुरुदक्षिणारूपेण कैरपि दीयेरन् । संहिता-ध्ययनानन्तरमुपरिपठनार्थमृग्वेदिनः शिवपुरं वा श्रीनावपुरं वा अगमन् ।

आहत्य केरलेषु सामवेदिनो विंशतिगृहपरिमिता इति पूर्वमेवोक्तम् । तेषु नव गृहाः कोट्टयपत्तनस्य समीपे किटङ्ङूर् नाम्नि ग्रामे वर्तन्ते । पाञ्चाल्ग्रामे च पञ्च गृहाः । प्रायश-स्सर्वेऽपि सामवेदाध्यापकाः पाञ्चाल्ग्रामीया आसन्निति हेतोः सोऽयं ग्रामः सामाध्ययनस्य केन्द्रभूत इवासीत् । बहोः कालात्पूर्वं यदा यात्रा सुकरा नासीत् तदापि किटङ्ङूर्ग्रामात् शताधिकं वटवः पाञ्चाल्ग्राममागत्य मुट्टत्तुकाट्टुनाम्नि गृहे वसन्तः सामवेदमधीयाना आसन् । षड्भ्यो वर्षेभ्यः अनन्तरं संपूर्णं साम अधीत्यैव ते प्रत्यगच्छन् । श्रूयन्ते हि कथा यत् केचन वटवः एतादृशदीर्घकालादनन्तरं गृहं प्रतिनिवृत्ताः । तान् स्वीयौ पितरावपि प्रत्यभिज्ञातुं नापारयन्निति । वेदाध्ययनस्य कीदृशं प्राधान्यमासीदिति ईदृग्भिः कथाभिः सूच्यत इत्येवाभिप्रायः ।

स्मर्यते हि अध्ययनाध्यापनयजनयाजनदानप्रतिग्रहरूपा षडात्मिका ब्राह्मणवृत्तिरिति । एतेष्वादिममेव प्रधानतमं कर्म । नम्बूतिरिद्विजानां सर्वेषां पूर्वोक्तेषु षट्सु कर्मस्वधिकारो नास्ति । प्रायेण चत्वारो विभागा नम्बूतिरिद्विजानाम् । तद्यथा – अग्निहोत्रिणः, आढ्याः, साधारणाः, शस्त्रिणश्च । एतेषु षट्कर्माधिकारिणः अग्निहोत्रिण एव । आढ्यास्तु यजनं विना अन्येषु पञ्चसु अधिकारिणः । साधारणा यजनयाजनयोर्नाधिकारिणः । शस्त्रिणस्तु केवलं वेदोपदेशं स्वीकुर्वन्ति नाध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति । अस्ति प्रवादः यदेते पूर्वमथर्ववेदिन आसन् यदा तस्य वेदस्य प्रचारोऽस्तंगतः तदा वेदभ्रष्टा आसन्निति ।

अध्ययनमेव ब्राह्मणानां प्राथमिकी वृत्तिरिति पूर्वमुक्तं किल । प्रथमं वेदाध्ययनं तदनन्तरमेव शास्त्रपठनमित्यासीत् सम्प्रदायः । अत्र 'अनन्तरमेवे'त्येवकारेण निर्धार्यमाणमधिकृत्य कापि कथा श्रूयते । सा चेत्थम् —

कुक्कुटक्रोडनगरे सामूतिरिराजानामाधिपत्ये प्रतिसंवत्सरं काचन पण्डितसभा प्रचलति स्म । सभादिनेषु सम्मिलितानां समेषां ब्राह्मणानां मिष्टान्नभुक्तिरपि क्लृप्ता आसीत् । भोजनपङ्क्तौ प्रथमं स्थानं सन्निहितेषु श्रेष्ठतमस्य शास्त्रपण्डितस्यैव । अस्याः कथायाः संभवकाले तत्स्थानं महापण्डितस्य कस्य चन ब्राह्मणस्य आसीत् । एकस्मिन् दिने भोजनायाभ्यङ्गस्नानानन्तरमाग-तस्य तस्य कियान् विलम्बोऽभवत् । तस्मात् तस्यागमनं प्रतीक्षमाणानामन्येषामपि भोजनविलम्बः समजनि । कियद्भ्योऽयं विलम्बो नारोचत । तथा च कैश्चिदमुं ब्राह्मणमवलज्जयितुं कोऽप्युपायो मिथः सम्मन्त्र्य निर्धारितः । अपरेऽहनि कमपि युवानमधीतवेदमस्पृष्टशास्त्रं ते भोजने प्रथम-स्थानिकमकार्षुः । व्यवस्था च एवं कृता । यदि स महापण्डितो भोजनावसरे तत्रागच्छेत् स्वस्य स्थानभ्रंशे च विषादं कुर्यात् तर्हि स प्रष्टव्यः आदेशभूतेन यूना 'अथशब्दस्य कोऽर्थ'इति । स

शास्त्रपण्डितः पूर्वमधीतवेदोऽपि नितरां शास्त्रव्यसनी ववृते । तदधुना तस्य अध्ययनं सर्वं विस्मृतप्रायमासीत् । अन्यैर्यथा आसूत्रितं तथैव फलितम् । विलम्ब्य समागतस्स पण्डितः प्रथमं स्थानमध्यासीनं युवानं दृष्ट्वा किंचिदिवाकुलः निर्निमेषया दृष्ट्या तमेव निध्यायन्नास्त । तदा तं प्रति तेन यूना पृष्टं 'अथशब्दस्य कोऽर्थ' इति । अस्य प्रश्नस्य अर्थः यूनाज्ञात आसीत् । तथापि पण्डितः तस्यार्थं जग्राह । 'अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा' इति मीमांसासूत्रस्थाथशब्दस्य 'अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा' इति वेदान्तसूत्रस्थाथशब्दस्य वा कोऽर्थ इति प्रश्नस्य आशय इति पण्डितेनावगतम् । उभयपक्षेऽपि वेदाध्ययनादनन्तरमित्ययमर्थः स्वीकर्तव्यः । तथा च विस्मृताध्ययनः स्वयं प्रथमं स्थानं वोढुं नार्होऽस्मीति कृत्वा पण्डितेन ततोऽपक्रान्तम् ।

नातिबुद्धिमतोऽपि सस्वरस्य वेदस्य अध्ययने प्रयासलेशो न दृष्टः । केवलं चतुर्भिः पञ्चभिर्वा संवत्सरैः ऋचां दशसहस्रं कण्ठस्थं कर्तुं शक्यमासीत् । आद्येषु केषुचिद्दिवसेषु स्वरोच्चारणं सम्यक् कर्तुं नातिसुलभम् । यदा स्वरदार्ढ्यं संजायते तदा केवलं हस्तसंज्ञया स्वरानुच्चरितुं शिष्यः प्रगल्भो भवति । एकैकस्मिन् पक्षे दशाध्यायदिनानि पञ्चानध्यायदिनानि च समगण्यन्त । प्रदोषात् प्रभृति प्रतिपदमभिव्याप्य चत्वारि अष्टम्यामेकमिति पञ्चानध्यायदिनानि । एतत्सर्वमतीता कथा । अधुना तु केवलं शिवपुरे श्रीनावपुरे च कतिपये छात्राः ऋग्वेदमधीयाना वर्तन्ते । कालवशेन वटूनां तत्पितॄणां च वेदेषु श्रद्धा म्लानप्राया दृश्यते । जैमिनिसाम्नः अध्ययनार्थं द्वयोः छात्रवेतनं दातुं समुद्युक्तैः श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपैरहमनुयुक्तः छात्रद्वयस्य सम्पादनाय; बहवः पितरोऽभ्यर्थिताश्च मया तथापि विफलो यत्नः । को वा हेतुः अस्य वेदेषु श्रद्धाभावस्य ? नवीनया सरण्या गृहीतविद्यानामपि न सुसम्पदा अधुना जीविका । तथा च यदि अध्ययनकालेऽपि दारिद्र्यं, अध्ययनानन्तरमपि दारिद्र्यं भवेत् । को वा मन्दः विफलप्रयत्नं प्रति समुत्सुको भवेत् । तस्मात् पुरा कालेव देवालयसंबन्धिषु पदेषु यदि अधीतवेदानामेव नियुक्तिरिति नियमः कल्प्येत तर्हि कतिपये वेदाध्ययनाय औत्सुक्यं प्रदर्शयेयुः ।

अध्ययनरीतावपि कालानुसारी विपरिणामोऽवश्यमङ्गीकरणीयः । गुरुमुखोच्चारणानूच्चारणसम्प्रदायस्य ग्लानिः कदापि मा भूत् । यतः पुस्तकापेक्षया अध्ययनेन स्वरकम्पादि ज्ञानं तद्दार्ढ्यं च न परिपूर्तिं भजेत परन्तु अर्थभागेऽपि श्रद्धा कर्तव्या । अधीतानां वेदभागानामर्थज्ञानमपि यदि भवेत्, तर्हि छात्राणां तेषु श्रद्धा संशिता स्यात् । वेदमधीयानानामाधुनिकविद्यास्थानेष्वपि यथाशक्ति विनयनं कर्तव्यं भवति ।

केरलेभ्यो बहिर्वेदपरिरक्षणविषये केचन समारम्भा महद्भिः सज्जनैर्विद्याशालाभिश्च क्रियमाणा दृश्यन्त इति प्रमोदस्थानमेतत् । काञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपतीनामाशीर्भिः संपुष्यमाणा वेदधर्मपरिपालनसभाः तत्र तत्र देशेषु प्रवर्तमाना विद्यन्ते । वाराणसीयविश्वविद्यालये वेदाध्ययनार्थमावश्यकी सौकरी संक्लृप्ता । वाराणस्यां बहुषु गृहेषु च वेदाध्ययनमधुनापि प्रचलति । यदि केरलविश्वविद्यालयः, धर्मसंस्थाः, देवस्वं बोर्ड्; इत्येते मिथो मिलित्वा अस्मिन् विषये प्रवर्तनं कुर्युः तर्हि केरलेष्वपि अधुना नष्टप्रायो वेदाध्ययनसम्प्रदायः पुनर्नवतां प्राप्नुयात् ॥

SECTION II

Papers in English

C. S. Venkateswaran

BṚHASPATI AND BRAHMAṆASPATI IN THE ṚGVEDA

BṚHASPATI and Brahmaṇaspati in the *Ṛgveda* are only two names of the same deity. Their characteristics and functions are identical. They are invoked separately and together in eleven hymns. Bṛhaspati is invoked in I 190, IV 50, VI 73 and X 182 and Bṛahmaṇaspati in I 18 and 40, II 25 and 26 and VII 97. Both these deities are invoked in II 23 and 24. They enjoy a unique position of importance among the Ṛgvedic gods. They combine in themselves predominantly the intellectual faculty of Agni and the physical qualities of Indra. They are sometimes identified with Agni and are often invoked along with Indra.[1] They are kind and liberal to the devotees like Agni and Indra. Further they possess the moral qualities characteristic of Varuṇa and are invoked to instill holy thoughts like Savitṛ. Their distinctive trait is their intellectual supremacy. They are the Lords of devotional prayer, song and wisdom.

Being the lords and the bards of the sacred prayer and song, they are intimately connected with the sacrifice like Agni whose sacerdotal functions and intellectual powers are ascribed to them. The Vedic seers considered devotion and its effusive expression in sacred prayer and song as "great" expressed by such terms as *bṛh, bṛhat* and *brahman; bṛhaspati* and *brahmaṇaspati* and therefore, are the lords of the "great" expression" or the sacred *mantra*. Both of them are derived like the word "*vācaspati*" the former member being in the genitive singular. Pāṇini[2] assumes "*bṛhat*" as the first member in the word *bṛhaspati* where the final "*t*" (in *bṛhat*) drops and is replaced by "*s*." While interpreting the meaning of these compounds, Sāyaṇa[3] in most of the places takes *bṛhat* and *brahman* in the sense of "*mantra*" and "*stotra*." Both these words are equated in sense, and one *ṛk* itself

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1. Identification with Agni: II–1.3; I–40.2; I–139.10;
   Indra with Bṛhaspāti: IV–49.1 to 6; IV–50.10, 11; VII–97.10; VII–98.7; VIII–96.15.

2. बृहतां देवानां पतिः पालयिता । तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्चेति सुडागमः तलोपश्च उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु इति पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्युगपत्प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । Sāyaṇa on R X—182.1

3. बृहतो ब्रह्मणो मन्त्रस्य स्वामिन् (II–24–1) बृहतः मन्त्रस्य पालयितुः (II–24–10) बृहत् प्रभूतं स्त्रोत्रम् (II–23–19) ब्रह्मणो मन्त्रस्य पतिः पालयिता (II–24–4) ब्रह्मणां मन्त्राणां स्वामिनम् (II–23–1); सर्वेषां ब्रह्मणां स्तोत्राणां जनयिता (II–23–2); ब्रह्मणो मन्त्रस्य पालयितारम् (VII–97–3) ब्रह्मणां स्तोत्राणामधिपतिः (II–23–19)

gives the meaning of *bṛhaspatı* as *brahmaṇaspati*, the Lord of Prayer. (...... ....*viśveṣām id janitā brhmaṇām asi* II-23-2). Though *bṛhaspatı* and *brahmaṇaspati* denote the same god of prayer in the *Ṛgveda*, the term *bṛhaspati* occurs more often than *brahmaṇaspati* which appears to be an explanatory term of *bṛhaspati*. Like Agni,[4] both these are sacerdotal gods and play the role of a domestic and praying priest. Brahmaṇaspati is the king supreme of prayers (*Brahmaṇām jyeṣtharāja*) (II-23-1) and he speaks forth the solemn hymn of praise (*pra nūnam brahmaṇaspatir mantram vadatyukthyam* I-40-5). He is the wondrous Lord of the assembly (*sadasaspatim adbhutam* I-18-6) and is said to be wise (*vidvān* I-190-7) *kavinām kaviḥ* II-23-1 and intelligent (*vicakṣaṇa* II-23-6). He is sweet-tongued (*mandra-jihvaḥ* I-190-1; IV-50-1) and possesses a clear voice (*śuci-krandaḥ* VII-97-5). He stirs up series of wise thoughts (*sa dhīnām yogam invati* I-18-7). Himself a composer of songs, he is fit to be praised with songs (*arkaiḥ navyaḥ* I-190-1). He promotes the offering and furthers the sacrifice (*adṛdhnoti haviṣkṛtim prāñcam kṛṇotya-dhvaram* I-18-8) and is the accomplisher of the latter (*yasmād ṛte na siddhyati yajñaḥ* I-18-7). He brings about prosperity (*suvṛdh* II-23-9) and is the promoter of nourishment (*puṣṭi-vardhana* I-18-2). He destroys diseases (*amīvahā* I-18-2). He is the possessor and the dispenser of wealth (*revān, vasuvid* I-18-2; *sanitā dhanam dhanam* II-23-13), and is quick (*turaḥ* I-18-2) in conferring fruits. The devotee who adores Brahmaṇaspati and secures his favour gets all riches and attains all his desires (II, 25 and 26). Further he is the guide who prepares the path and is the saviour and protector of men (*sunītibhir nayasi trāyase janam* II-23-4; *tvam no gopāḥ pathikṛt* II-23-6; *trātāram tvā tanūnām havāmahe* II-23-8). Like Agni,[5] Bṛhaspati is addressed as Angiras (II-13-8) and also as the descendant of Angiras (Āngirasa VI-73-1), and also as Nārāśaṁsapraised by men (II-18-9). Further like Agni,[6] he is spoken of as the offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ (II-23-17) and as the father of the gods. He is also described as seven-rayed, golden coloured, pure and bright, as carrying bow and arrows and as moving in a car.[7] He drives away darkness and the goblins and the other enemies of the prayer and sacrifice. (*brhaspatir hantyamitram arkaiḥ* VI-73-3).

Some hymns refer to the physical might and the great exploits of Bṛhaspati and Brahmaṇaspati which are characteristic of Indra. Brahmaṇaspati is mighty and is often spoken of as a bull (*vṛṣabha* I-190-1, 8). He is born in strength (*tuvi-jātaḥ* I-190-8) and possesses strength (*tuviṣmān* I-190-3, 8). Along with Indra he tastes *Soma* (IV-49-3, 5, 6) but is not an addict to it like Indra. He is irresistible in battle (*sāsahiḥ* II-23-11). He is Indra's loving friend (*indrasya kāmyaḥ priyaḥ* 1-18, 6). He propped the earth's ends

4. Agni:– Priest II–1.2; II–2.1; II–3.1; VIII–43.1.
5. Agni:– Aṅgiras 1–31.1.
   Agni:– Nārāśaṁsa I–13.3; I–142.3; II–3.2; V–5.2; VII–2.2.
6. Agni:– Offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ X–2.7; father of gods I–69.1.
7. Agni:– Seven–rayed I–146.1; II–5.3; bright II–10.2; VI–10.3; an archer I–70.11; moving in a car III–11.5, dispels darkness VIII–43.32.

by his might (*yas tastaṁbha sahasā vi jmo antān* IV-50-1). He is associated with thunder and is called the mountain-render (*adri-bhid* VI-23-1). His exploits are specially described in II, 23 and 24 and VI, 73. He drove the kine forth, cleft Vala through prayer, dispelled the darkness and displayed the light of heaven (*ud gā ājad abhinad brahmaṇā valam agūhat tamo vyacakṣayat svaḥ* II-24-3). Like Indra he is described as having released the cows and the waters and to have won the light (II-23-18). He is also spoken of as *maghavān* (II-24-12) and *vajrin* (I-40-8) like Indra. He goes with the Maruts (I-40-1) and hurls the bolt (I-40-8). Even his physical strength is derived from prayer (*brahman*).

In Bṛhaspati and Brahmaṇaspati, we find a successful grafting by the Ṛgvedic seers of the sacerdotal functions and intellectual qualities of Agni the physical might and martial traits of Indra. Besides the munificence of Agni and Indra, Savitṛ's special quality of stimulating good thoughts and the moral pre-eminence of Varuṇa the Lord of the mighty Law who avenges guilt and sin also go to constitute this unique creation of Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati who enjoys in the *Ṛgveda* great intellectual and moral preeminence along with a high degree of physical might derived from prayer. In later literature, the physical qualities of Bṛhaspati recede to the back-ground in proportion to the emphasis laid on his intellectual qualities. The appellation Bṛhaspati also attains more popularity than the term *brahmaṇaspati*. Bṛhaspati, even in later literature, retains his position as the spiritual preceptor of the gods and as the Lord of speech and wisdom.

Ambubai Purani

SRI AUROBINDO'S APPROACH TO THE VEDA

How did Sri Aurobindo come to the study of the *Veda*?

Sri Aurobindo is not a scholar who takes up the work of interpreting the *Veda;* his entry in the Vedic literature is best given in his own words:

"First, it seems to me advisible to explain the genesis of the theory in my own mind, so that the reader may better understand the line I have taken or, if he chooses, check my prepossessions or personal preference which may have influenced or limited the right application of reasoning to this difficult problem."

On Veda (P. 42)

"Like the majority of educated Indians I had passively accepted without examination, before myself reading the *Veda*, the conclusions of European scholarship both as to the religious and as to the historical and ethical sense of the ancient hymns. In consequence, following again the ordinary line taken by modernized Hindu opinion, I regarded the *Upaniṣads* as the most ancient source of Indian thought and religion, the true *Veda*, the first Book of Knowledge."

"My first contact with Vedic thought came indirectly while pursuing certain lines of self-development in the way of Indian *yoga*, which without my knowing it, were spontaneously converging towards the ancient and now unfrequented paths followed by our forefathers. At this time there began to arise in my mind an arrangement of symbolic names attached to certain psychological experiences which had begun to regularize themselves; and among them there came the figures of three female energies, Ilā, Sarasvatī, Saramā, representing severally three out of four faculties of the intuitive reason, revelation, inspiration and intuition. Two of these names were not well known to me as names of Vedic Goddesses, but were connected rather with the current Hindu religion or with old Puranic legend, Sarasvatī, goddess of learning and Ila, mother of the Lunar dynasty. But Saramā was familiar enough. I was unable, however, to establish any connection between the figure that rose in my mind and the Vedic hound of heaven, who was associated in my memory with Argive Helen and represented only an image of the physical Dawn entering in its pursuit of the vanished herds of Light into the cave of the Powers of darkness. When once the clue is found, the clue of the physical Light imaging the subjective, it is easy to see that the hound may be the intuition entering into the dark caverns of the subconscious mind to prepare the delivery and out-flashing of the bright illuminations of knowledge which have there imprisoned."

(*Ibid.*, p. p. 42-43)

"It is my stay in Southern India which first seriously turned my thoughts to the *Veda.* Two observations that were forced on my mind gave a serious shock to my second-hand belief in the racial division between Northern Aryans and Southern Dravidians. The distinction had always rested for me on a supposed difference between the physical types of Aryan and Dravidian—and a more definite incompatibility between northern Sanskritic and the southern non-Sanskritic tongues............ I could not, however, be long in southern India without being impressed by the general recurrence of northern or "Aryan" types in the Tamil race...........

But what then of the sharp distinction between Aryan and Dravidian races created by the philologists? It disappears.

On examining the vocables of the Tamil language, in appearance so foreign to the Sanskrit form and character, I yet found myself continually guided by words or by families of words supposed to be pure Tamil in establishing new relations between Sanskrit and its distant sister, Latin and occasionally, between the Greek and the Sanskrit............And this...... Dravidian language that I came first to perceive what seems to me now the true law, origins and, as it were, the embryology of the Aryan tongues."

Ibid., p. 45.

"It was, therefore, with a double interest that for the first time I took up the *Veda* in the original, though without any intention of a close or serious study. It did not take long to see that the Vedic indications of a racial division between Aryan and Dasyus and the identification of the latter with the indigenous Indians were of a far flimsier character than I had supposed. But more interesting to me was the discovery of a considerable body of profound psychological thought lying neglected in these ancient hymns."

(*Ibid.*, p. 46)

"I was helped in arriving at this result by my fortunate ignorance of the commentary of Sāyaṇa. For I was left free to attribute their natural psychological significance to many ordinary and current words of the *Veda* such as *dhi,* thought, or understanding; *manas,* mind, *mati* thought feeling or mental state, *manīṣā,* intellect, *ṛtam,* truth; to give their exact share to *kavi,* seer, *maṇīṣī* thinker, *vipra, vipascit,* enlightened in mind and a number of similar words;...........

(*Ibid.*, p. 46)

On one condition this transformation—into psychological complexion—is frequently complete, the condition that we should admit the symbolic character of the Vedic sacrifice. We find in the *Gita* the word *yajña,* sacrifice, used in a symbolic sense for all action, whether internal or external, that is consecrated to the gods or to the Supreme...........I found in the *Veda* itself there were hymns in which the idea of the *yajña* or of the victim

is openly symbolical, others in which the veil is quite transparent............If the *yajña* is the action consecreated to the God, I could not but take the *yajamāna* as the doer of the action............he must be the soul or the personality as the doer. But there were also the officiating priests, *hotā*, *ritvij, purohit, brahmā, adhvaryu*...........I found the gods were continually spoken of as priests of the offering and in many passages it was undisguised by a non-human power or energy which presided over the sacrifice.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 49-50)

"The Angirasa legend and Vṛtra myths are the two principal parables of the *Veda;* they occur and recur everywhere.................when we have determined their sense, we have determined the sense of the whole *Ṛk-Samhita*."

(*Ibid.*, p. 277)

We have concluded that the Angirasa Ṛṣis are bringers of the Dawn, rescuers of the Sun out of the darkness, but that this Dawn, Sun, Darkness are figures used with a spiritual significance. The central conception of the *Veda* is the conquest of the Truth out of the darkness of Ignorance and by the conquest of the Truth the conquest also of Immortiality.

(*Ibid.*, p. 278)

The Seven divine Angirasas are sons or powers of Agni, powers of the Seer-Will, the flame of the divine Force instinct with divine Knowledge which is kindled for the victory."

(*Ibid.*, p. 278)

I. From the quotations it is clear that Sri Aurobindo's interpretation of the *Veda* is psychological and spiritual. It brings out the mystic import the Vedic symbols on the basis of internal evidence. Sri Aurobindo argues that corresponding to the school of Vedic mysticism there were such schools in Egypt, Greece and Asia Minor.

II. That Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* is not the sole undisputed authority on the meaning of the Vedic hymns is amply proved by Yāska's *Nirukta*, the first attempt at preserving the Vedic knowledge current in Yāska's time. Yāska is prior to Sāyaṇa and he admits triple interpretation of every hymn—*ādhibhautika, ādhidaivika* and *ādhyātmika* and in the course of his exegesis mentions more than twenty schools and individuals who give different interpretations of the hymns.

Yaska in his introductions admits ten unknown (*anavagatam*) categories showing clearly the uncertainty that prevailed in his times about the meaning of the *Veda.*

The Western scholarship almost entirely relies on Sāyaṇa and it is not so interested in finding the meaning of the hymns as in interpreting the meaning assigned to them by Sāyaṇa. But as I have just shown the

meaning of the hymns had become vague and uncertain even in Yāska's time. Sāyaṇa's *bhāṣya* could hardly be accepted as their most authoritative exposition. Besides, the Western schools are more interested in finding the history, social customs and institutions in the *Vedas* which might support their hypothesis of a primitive Indian world.

III. Much has been made of the word *ārya* by foreign scholars and their Indian followers. The word occurs thirty-three times in the *Ṛg-Veda:* twenty-two times it is applied to Indra, six times to Agni. The remaining five references do not indicate any racial conflict. '*dasyu*' is used seventy times.

IV. Sri Aurobindo's interpretation is based on (i) internal evidence of the Vedic hymns. He regards the *Veda* as one piece; even a cursory glance would show that all the *maṇḍalas* deal with one subject matter, and have a common form. It must therefore lead to one significance. (ii) There are special words used in the *Veda* which are the key-words and have a double-meaning; this has grammatical justification. (iii) Metrical development of the hymns indicates a high degree of cultural advance. (iv) All throughout the *Veda,* symbols are used profusely—even the ceremony of *yajña* is symbolic, including even the participants and the materials. (v) The psychological words used in the *Veda* indicate a highly developed society, at least an intellectual oligarchy. (vi) The gods and the functions are symbolic and psychological. (vii) The legends in the *Veda* are also symbolic and capable of psychological interpretation.

Special words with philological justifications: *go, aśva, vṛtra; vṛka; vāmadeva, dīrghatamas, parāśara, angirasa, angirastama, gaviṣṭhira, gotama; viśvāmitra; vasiṣṭha; bharadvāja; dhenu; bhaga; vana; dasyu; vala; pāṇi; vṛṣan; brahmā; bṛhat; barhis. go* means both 'cow' and 'ray of light'; *parāśara* is regarded as a proper name; but in the hymns it carries its root-meaning-' one who overcomes the enemies.' It is used as an adjective of Indra in the hymns. *gotama* means 'One most full of light,' *dhīrgatamas*, 'One who is, or was long in darkness,' *vṛtra;* 'One who covers,' *vṛka* 'One who tares' *viśvāmitra:* 'The friend of all' ('universal friend'); *pāṇi:* 'the trafficker' and *dhenu,* 'One who nourishes.'* *yajña* in the *Veda* is symbolic sacrifice which is a means of interchange between men and gods. Sacrifice in the *Veda* is *adhvara,* a pilgrimage, and a battle. The officiating priest is *hotṛ,* one who calls; *adhvaryu,* the priest of the journey; *ṛtvik,* one who sacrifices at the right season according to law; *brahmā,* the voice of rhythm—the reciter, of the word of creative power welling from the soul.

The fruits of the sacrifice-*go, aśva, rayi, ratnam, vīra, prajā, tanaya*—also are symbolic.

The offerings, *ghṛta, soma, puroḍāśa,* are also symbolic.

A small list of psychological words used in the *Ṛg-Veda* showing clearly that the Vedic *ṛṣis* were far from primitive state of culture.

satyam:	Truth of being
ṛtam:	Truth of movement, of action, a law
bṛhat:	Vast, all-pervading
dhī:	Intellect
mati:	Thinking
manīṣā:	Mentalizing
jñā:	To know
budh:	To be aware, to awake
cetana:	Consciousness
cit:	To be conscious
citti:	Consciousness
acitti:	Unconsciousness
dhā with *ava:*	To place (the mind) upon (something)
man:	To think
viceta:	One supremely conscious
sumana:	One with a happy state of mind or thought
śiva:	The beneficent
kalyāṇa:	Welfare, state of spiritual attainment
dhīra:	One who has the calm intellect
vipra:	One who is illumined
medhāvin:	One who is genius, (of quick comprehension)
vicarṣaṇi:	One who has the illumined sight
vipaścit:	One whose consciousness is
praceta:	One whose consciousness is expanded, active
kavi:	The seer
kratu:	Will
ṛṣi:	One with a vision
dakṣa:	One with will or power
hṛdaya:	The heart
mayas:	Bliss
bhadram:	Happy beauty
rayi:	Delight
ratnam:	Shining joy
moda:	Sweet—intoxicating—delight
pramoda:	More intoxicating delight
vid:	To know
vidvān:	The knower
svasti:	Happy state of being
vāma:	Delight
vāna:	Delight
sumati:	Happy state of mind

The use of these words containing various psychological functions and even shades, *e.g.*, *dhī, mati, cetana*, etc., shows the advanced state of the culture of the Vedic seers.

E. Anantacharya.

THE VEDIC CONCEPT OF WATERS

The water is a subtle and complex concept, the basis and source of various facts and acts of thoughts, ideas and notions of the Vedic culture and is closely associated with every problem in the *Vedas*. In every practical performance of ritualistic details, the worship of the waters and the invocation of their powers are of primary, nay, utmost importance. The waters are the flowing waters of wisdom and intelligence of Agni[1] and proceed from his heart circulating through and encircling the universe in more than three concentric circles whose centre is therefore Agni alone, and not[2] any one of his many powers in their manifestations. It is from the womb of these waters that every thing arises and even Indra and Soma are reared by these waters. The waters at first assort themselves into seven distinct oceans as the seven mighty mothers. Agni stirs up them and comes out as the eternal child or *kumāra* for the purposes of further detailed operations of creation and manifestation in all states and at all levels, all of them being woven into the web of an inter-related network of subtle relations.[3] The Brahmāṇḍa is the consolidated concrete egg of the knowledge of the waters into a homogeneous embryo with all kinds of potencies and powers called *viśva-karmā* from which is evolved the *viśva-rūpa* or the whole manifested world of form from which again the basic world of existence is grasped in mind as knowledge.[4] The entire sphere of the cosmos as a mental concept is named Aditi, the undivided, which through the process of understanding, is named as time[5] and is then presented as the sphere of space. Even the three main divisions of the cosmos are named Aditi in an extended sense since each of these regions has its own offspring in evolution from their three homogeneous states.[6] For specific understanding, the children of the sky (*div*) are termed Ādityas, those of the intervening space of *prāṇas* (*antarikṣa*) as Rudras while those of the solid existence of the earth (*pṛthivī*) are called Vasus. But it is only Mitra and Varuṇa that are foremost and

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1 अपां नपान्मधुमतीरपो दा याभिरिन्द्रो वावृधे वीर्याय । याभिः सोमो मोदते हर्षते च ॥ RV. 10. 30. 4 & 5

2 विद्मा ते नाम परमं गुहा यद्विद्मा तमुत्सं यत आजगन्थ । RV. 10. 45. 2

3 आपो अस्मान् मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु ।
विश्वं हि रिप्रं प्रवहन्ति देवीरुदिदाभ्यः शुचिरा पूत एमि ॥ RV. 10. 17. 10

4 यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं संप्रश्नं भुवना यंत्यन्या ॥ RV. 10. 82. 3
तमिद्गर्भं प्रथमं दध्र आपो यत्र देवाः समगच्छन्त विश्वे । RV. 10. 82. 6

5 कलयति कालः ।

6 अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षमदितिर्माता । RV. I. 89.10

primarily called Ādityas, they being the creators of even the waters as well as of Aditi, the Brahmāṇḍa. They[7] are the twin powers of Agni's will and they give rise to the waters themselves and bring them down through the three stages of life, light and sound, the creative Ṛbhus in the three main firmaments as the showerers into the lower regions, as Sarasvatī until they appear as tangible waters with their triple powers composed into the life-giving *asura* or cloud which showers benignly on the world with the accompanying swift winds, flashes of lightnings, and thunderous sounds. Mitra and Varuṇa are therefore said to be the leaders of the waters (*apām netārau*) and the parents of Dakṣa (*dakṣapitaras*), the intelligence, as well as his counterpart Aditi, the web or matrix. Mitra and Varuṇa are the associate twins or parental powers of all creation emanating from the mind of Agni. They are said to be the foremost of all the *devas*[8] and with their unrivalled arms as their reins made of light-rays, they are the greatest controllers of all.[9] Like twin-powers, they are powerfully related in their real and mutual assistance with the true conception of Aditi.[10] They are splendid relations, guarding Aditi the conception of the light of truth. They are protectors of all, mobile and static.[11] The *Veda* says: "You Mitra and Varuṇa, your thoughts of creation are of unbroken continuity.[12] You continue to improve your dwellings and vestments wherever you are."[13] Mitra and Varuṇa are most powerful over all creation not only in all regions of life, light and sound but in the creation and continuity of the operations of the primal waters of consciousness and of the cosmic sphere, right through every detail in every nook and corner of the developments of the universe. They create the waters and are also nursed by them. They are, therefore, called the powers that have control in many ways and through many ties, (*bhūripāśaḥ*) for they supervise the many operations of the waters, of the cosmic sphere and of its differentiated parts.[14] For the same reason, the ultimate Agni is said to be the primary cause and operator of the one *yajña* of existence as Reality and of all its several variations.[15] He is the *purohita*, *adhvaryu*, *hotā* and the one *yajamāna* behind one and all[16] whose wisdom none else could understand.

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7 दक्षस्य वादिते जन्मनि व्रते राजाना मित्रावरुणा विवाससि । RV. 10. 64. 5

8 विश्वेषां वः सतां ज्येष्ठतमा गीर्भिर्मित्रावरुणा वावृधध्यै । RV. 6. 67. 1

9 सं या रश्मेव यमतुर्यमिष्ठा द्वा जनाँ असमा बाहुभिः स्वैः । RV. 6. 67. 1

10 अश्वा न या वाजिना पूतबंधू ऋता यद्गर्भमदितिर्भरध्यै । RV. 6. 67. 4

11 विश्वस्य स्थातुर्जगतश्च गोपा ... । RV. 7. 60. 2

12 युवोरच्छिद्रा मन्तवो ह सर्गाः । RV. 1. 152. 1

13 युवं वस्त्राणि पीवसा वसाथे । RV. 1. 152. 1

14 दृश्ये दितिं चादितिं च ।

15 विज्योतिषा बृहता भात्यग्निराविर्विश्वानि कृणुते महित्वा । RV. 5. 2. 9

16 स्वयं यजस्व दिवि देव देवान् किं ते पाकः कृणवदप्रचेताः । RV. 10. 7. 6

The knot of the complex concept of the symbolism of the waters has to be scanned and analysed[17] and traced to its basic foundation in the one supreme Agni, the life-power of all the unmanifest and manifest operations and who releases voluntarily his will into the component twin-powers of Mitra and Varuṇa with a further power Aryaman for creative process into all minute details through the parents.[18]

Mitra and Varuṇa are the two powers behind everything, noumenal and phenomenal and are the parents of creation not only of animate beings but also of the gross tangible events and things.[19] Aryaman is the parent, of creation through progeny. But Mitra and Varuṇa are the two parental powers of the positive and negative poles in the subtlest forms of creation even in the spheres of *prāṇa*, whose twin-powers operate as the particular twins Aśvins prior to and at the dawn of tangible birth as Nāsatyas, the twins of life-breath in the nose, like the twins of Dyāvāpṛthivī; Suryācandramasau, Indrābṛhaspatī, Indrāṣomau, Agnīṣomau, Indrāviṣṇū, and Agnāviṣṇū in different twinships for different purposes at different levels of constitutions at the same time, in the same life of every organic being as in the cosmos.[20] But the primal twins of all creation are Mitra and Varuṇa and they descend gradually down from the mental and psychological regions through the vital to the concrete ones,[21] and again through the mobile, luminous, gaseous, vaporous states into the stages of the least dense clouds, slowly descending down as oozings, particles, droplets, showerings, flowing streams,[22] condensed hail-stones and massive mountains of snow, fixed as well as floating on the polar seas and oceans of water, the lakes of floating, vaporous and cloudy waters *i.e.*, the Apsaras,[23] the floating pools of water in the high orbits of Yama and Savitṛ and above in the high unknown regions of the vast firmament as Ūrvaśīs, the dwellers of the high vastness (*uru*), the greatest firmament. Mitra and Varuṇa are said to move around the splendid lightning flashes.[24]

The waters, their different transforming states, their powers and functions are not only true in the selves but also serve as a comprehensive formula to represent the one conscious autonomy of powerful homogeneity capable

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17 प्रादेवीर्मायाः सहते दुरेवाः शिशीते शृङ्गे रक्षसे विनिक्षे । RV. 5. 2. 9

18 अतूर्तपन्थाः पुरुरथो अर्यमा सप्तहोता विषुरूपेषु जन्मसु । RV. 1.0 64. 5

19 See f. n., 7

20 इन्द्रश्च या चक्रथुः सोम तानि धुरा न युक्ता रजसो वहन्ति । RV. 1. 164. 9

21 प्रपथे पथामजनिष्ट, पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः ।
उभे अभि प्रियतमे सधस्थे आ च परां च चरति प्रजानन् ।। RV. 10. 17. 6

22 यस्ते द्रप्सः स्कन्दति यस्ते अंशुर्बाहुच्युतो धिषणाया उपस्थात् ।
(अध्वर्योर्वा परिवायः पवित्रात्तं ते जुहोमि मनसा वषट्कृतं) ।। RV. 10. 17. 12

23 तिस्रो द्यावः सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थाँ एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट् ।
आणिं न रथ्यममृताधि तस्थुरिह ब्रवीतु य उ तच्चिकेतत् ।। RV. I. 35. 6.

24 विद्युतो ज्योतिः परि संजिहानं मित्रावरुणा यदपश्यतां त्वा । RV. 7. 33. 10

of moving through all states of existence even from the spiritual and mental regions, exhibiting the various formations and functions from their original state of homogeneity onwards, expressing into all states and forms in all regions, and are known as Apasaha or Nārāḥ. Mitra and Varuṇa, therefore, represent the primary twin-powers of Agni carrying on their operations before as well as after the appearance of the waters, *i.e.*, they are component forces of the waters that are also fed and let by the waters themselves to help the further work of their creations. There is the immensity or the disorder of the extreme confusion of expansion of the powers outside and forms within the circumference of the widest circle of the *cakra* of Viṣṇu which alone provides for the separate existences and also gives protection to the extra-cosmic order of *prāṇas* and those of the intra-cosmic life within the fold of the great cosmic sphere. What is taking place in the manifest cosmic order is only a distinct concrete shape formed out of immense subtle, unmanifest, and supra-cosmic *ātman* the all-immanent Viṣṇu. The huge circle of Viṣṇu is said to be constantly growing beyond measure[25] guarded by him all around the margin of the sphere by the fighting *kumāra* ready to fight out any incursion.[26] The indistinct is the subtle (*avyakta*) and beyond the conception of the mind and thought and is the inexhaustible (*avyaya*). It is the experience of the *ātman* but it is inexpressible and immeasurable recognized as immensity alone. It is existence in fulness, unlimited and inconceivable to the limited powers of the individual mind, reason and logic.[27] But it is the source of the cosmos.[28] Viṣṇu's extension is beyond the limit of space.[29] The *ātman*, which can experience it, is therefore said to be as minute as the atomic in the atom and as vast as the ever-extending and immeasurable beyond all extension.

The states of water formulate the several stages of transformation and transmutation whether into the higher subtle spheres of the cosmos beyond the region of Yama or below it into the more concrete regions. At every stage of transformation in every arch of the firmaments, it is the Saudhanvanas, Ṛbhu, Vibhvan and Vāja, *i. e.*, in colour, sound and power who renew creation with the renewals of the productivity of time as the year[30] (*saṁvatsara*) out of the rays of light with their inherent movement, colour and sound. The waters of consciousness, remaining in the highest ocean,[31]

25 परो मात्रया तन्वा वृधान ... । RV. 7. 99. 1

26 कुमार: प्रत्येत्याह्वम् ।

27 गह्नं गर्भरिमासीदिदं सर्वमप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयम् ।

28 त्वेषं ह्यस्य स्थविरस्य नाम । RV. 7. 100. 3

29 क्षयंतमस्य रजस: पराके । RV. 7. 100. 5

30 वत्सं राति वत्सर: ।

31 उरौ महाँ अनिबाधे ववर्धापो अग्निं यशस: सं हि पूर्वी: ।
ऋतस्य योनावशयद्दमूना जामीनामग्निरपसि स्वसॄणाम् ।। RV. 3. 1. 11

thus move into the waters of Sarasvatī or knowledge, they into the ocean of *prāṇas*, of life, light and sound, and all together into the forms of the vapour-cloud from which descend as the several forms of particles, oozings, droplets, showers, streams, hail-stones and movements of snow representing the showers of their powers into more and more concrete forms.[32] The waters and their properties remain occupied by the potent powers of *devas* in their highest ocean.[33]

The cloud of vapour or *asura* in the upper regions is therefore known as the source of life-giving showers of *prāṇas* or *asus.* The blue cloud is representative of *asura*, the giver of life, since the one property of the *devas* is life-giving.[34] The parallel and counterparts of the waters of the cosmos in the individualized organic constitutions are the Aṅgirasas, the floods or *rasas* of all the portions of the bodies. The primary floods of the body are the floods of the *prāṇas*.[35] The cloud of the creative waters of life is the *śyāma-megha* or *megha-śyāma*, while the terrific, stormy cloud represents the destructive *asura*, the taker of life, the destroyer. The word *asura* thus stands for one who has both the giving and removing aspects of life, *i.e.*, the evolving and involving features, and the synthetic and analytical aspects of creative knowledge.[36] The formation of particles and drippings of water from vapours, formed in accordance with the operations of the divine knowledge of the *devas* have kept you, Oh! Vasiṣṭha, in the lotus of the lake of waters in the superior region of the vastness. Since Mitra and Varuṇa have seen Vasiṣṭha moving around the flashes of lightnings, people hold the birth of Vasiṣṭha as being similar to that of Agastya.[37] He is the symbol of the two spheres of truth, giving them out in several thousands of ways.[38] Wandering along the arch of the firmament of Yama, the Apsaras or dripping waters have created Vasiṣṭha.[39] The two powers, Mitra and Varuṇa, born in the sacrifie (*satra*) when desired with obeisance, have equally secreted their essence in the *kumbha* mansion, *i.e.*, the water-pot of the sky.[40] The proof of it arose from the midst of it and the brilliant *ṛṣi* born from the exact centre of it, is called Vasiṣṭha.[41] The cloud formation, the genesis of the particles of vapour into the globules of mist, their dripping and showering, the accompanying

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32 स उत्तरस्मादधरं समुद्रमपो दिव्या असृजद्वर्ष्या अभि । RV. 10. 98. 5

33 अस्मिन् समुद्रे अध्युत्तरस्मिन्नापो देवेभिर्निवृता अतिष्ठन् । RV. 10. 98. 6

34 देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् ।

35 प्राणा वै अङ्गिरसः ।

36 द्रप्सं स्कन्न ब्रह्मणा दैव्येन विश्वे देवाः पुष्करे त्वाददन्त RV. 7. 33. 11

37 तत्ते जन्मोतैकं वसिष्ठागस्त्यो यत्त्वा विश आजभार । RV. 7. 33. 10

38 स प्रकेत उभयस्य प्रविद्वान्त्सहस्रदान उत वा सदानः । RV. 7. 33. 12

39 यमेन ततं परिधिं वयिष्यन्नप्सरसः परि जज्ञे वसिष्ठः । RV. 7. 33. 12

40 सत्रे ह जाताविषिता नमोभिः कुंभे रेतः सिषिचतुः समानम् । RV. 7. 33. 13

41 ततो ह मान उदियाय मध्यात्ततो जातमृषिमाहुर्वसिष्ठम् । RV. 7.33.13

flashes of lightnings and their thunderings arc all taken as symbols of the powers of Viśve-devās in their one state of unity, in their conflux of the sacrifice, capable of releasing the processes of creative activity. The creative process is thus found in the different regions with all their details in the transformations going on at the arches of the different firmaments and these details are expressions of subtler truths and are also the basis of the practical details of all sacrificial directions, as also the means for the study and understanding of the several principles involved and at work, behind the ritual practices of the sacrifices whether they take place in the total cosmic *yajña* or the microcosmic *yajñas* of life-processes in the constitutions of individual beings. The showers of the knowledge of life, light and sound are symbolized by the drops of the showering waters from the cloud. An initial supply of nucleation of the particles starts with oozing, dripping and showering processes of the water drops.[42] Similar is the process of the showerings of thought, of pulsation of *prāṇas*, their sparks, flashes of light and the elements of sounds, along with the showers of impulses of life and movement. The driving intelligence behind all such processes is invoked as divine knowledge coming down from the higher regions of truth and is also said to be the source of inspiration and of utterances in trance-revelations[43] in man and is said to occur at the summits of intense brilliance of attention.[44] Below the level of it is the play of the night (*rātri*)[45], the mother of light still below it is the ocean of the concrete expression of existence.[46] The procession of intelligence is said to be the real march of divine conscious power contained in the waters to be liberated at different stations, and the whole march of the cloud, the giver of water (*nīrada*) of life is compared to the free and happy sojourn of the sage *Nārada*, the dispensing cloud as a vehicle or chariot of power specially made for us, conveying the divine knowledge accompanying the music of *prāṇas*.[47] One may hear the divine song of the descending waters which know the birth of the earth and heaven.[48] Three varieties of the warmth of heat are assisting the birth of Uṣas and all of them are known to the Vasiṣṭhas.[49] The Vasiṣṭhas have conquered knowledge.[50] Indra selected the wise Vasiṣṭhas who are great scientists in preserving knowledge. The creative process formulated in terms of the grouping of the particles of water-vapour into a cloud through the stages of *drapsa*,

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42 द्रप्सश्चस्कंद प्रथमाँ अनु द्यूनिमं च योनिमनु यश्च पूर्वः । RV. 10 17. 11

43 धिषणाया उपस्थात् ।

44 ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात्तपसोऽध्यजायत । RV. 10. 190. 1

45 ततो रात्र्यजायत । RV. 10. 190. 1

46 ततः समुद्रो अर्णवः । RV. 10. 190. 1

47 प्र शुक्रैतु देवी मनीषा अस्मत्सुतष्टो रथो न वाजी । RV. 7. 34. 1

48 विदुः पृथिव्या दिवो जनित्रं शृण्वत्यापो अध क्षरंती । RV. 7. 34. 2

49 त्रयो घर्मास उषसं सचंते सर्वाँइत्ताँ अनु विदुर्वसिष्ठाः । RV. 7. 33. 7

50 धियंजिन्वासः । RV. 7. 33. 1

oozing (*cyuta*) gliding (*skanna*), showering (*vṛṣṭi*) etc., is systematized and symbolized in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* into the formula of creation with seventeen letters and is known as *Prajāpati* of *Saptadaśākṣara.*[51] The four letters ā śrā va ya with the other four letters *astu śrauṣaṭ*, the two subsequent letters *yaja* with a further five of *yeyajāmahe* and of the final two letters *vaṣaṭ* form the creative formula of seventeen letters of the creative Prajāpati. They indicate the natural order of his creative process.[52] The formula is the symbol of the origin, basis, and emergence of *yajña*. When the *devas* met in a sacrifice, the several directions in space became dimmed and were not clearly visible to them. They searched first for traces of moisture. With the formula of *āśrāvaya*, they initiated the process of the blowing of the first-wind (*purovāta*) and filled the sky with flood with the aid of the method of the formula of *astu* and *śrauṣaṭ*. With *yaja*, they produced the lightning, formed the showers and thunders with *yeyajāmahe* and the *vaṣaṭ*. With these, they fully filled all the directions. He, who securely held the Agni in his *ātman* and develop it, generates the Agni out of that.[53] He is the container of the potential splendour and becomes the showerer with the repetition of generations and in him is the *ātman*, the centre of all existence—mobile and static.[54] The fundamental waters in which all the created world exists, along with the three firmaments, move in three ways.[55] Three are the storages and three the cups that pour out and the sweet waters ooze with special purity from before.[56]

The accounts of the formation of the particles of water vapour, whether from the gaseous life-impulse into the vaporous states or form the vapour into droppings or drizzlings will resemble the cloud-chamber experiments of our present Atomic Physics in many respects and the symbolism of the showers refers equally to showers of gases as well as to the showers of impulses or of sparks of fire and flashes of light and of sound in all the multiple variations of spectro-scopic tints in a thousand and one way. The showers of speech are referred to in a thousand ways. The waters daily go up and down equally well.[57] The showers of Parjanya conquer the earth and those of Agni conquer the heaven.[58] The firmament is the creative father, the centre is our own place here in the middle, and the vast space of the creative earth is the mother, the inner centre of the erect water-vase is the receptacle,

51 यो वै सप्तदशाक्षरं यज्ञमन्वायत्तं वेद प्रतितिष्ठति न यज्ञात् भ्रँशति

52 एष वै सप्तदश प्रजापतिर्यज्ञमन्वायत्त: ।

53 आत्मन्नग्निं गृह्णीते चेष्यान्नात्मना व एतमधिजनयति ।

54 स रेतोधा वृषभ: शश्वतीनां तस्मिन्नात्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च RV. 7. 101. 6

55 यस्मिन् विश्वानि भुवनानि तस्थु: तिस्रो द्याव: त्रेधा सस्रुराप: । RV. 7. 101.4

56 त्रय: कोशास उपसेचनासो मध्व: श्चोतन्त्यभितो विरप्शं । RV. 7. 102. 4

57 समानमेतदुदकमुच्चैत्यव चाहभि: । RV. 1. 164. 51

58 भूमिं पर्जन्या जिन्वंति दिवं जिन्वंत्यग्नय: । ibid

and here the father has sown the conception for the milking or receptive daughter.[59]

The waters of wisdom that are the background of all the regions of existence supplying the intelligence, the power and forces, forms, materials and methods for creation are themselves from the spring of the sweet nectarine waters of the heart of the all-pervading Viṣṇu, *i.e.*, the central Agni. The powerful waters are said to be the chaste dames, the matrons, but they are also known to contain the masculine power. The apparent anomaly of it can be resolved and understood only by the seer, the seeing scientist, and also the wise son who understands what birth is. The father and mother are the parents, the twin-powers for creation and they are contained inherent in the powers of the waters. But the waters themselves are brought out in the wilful jet of a spring that is in the centre and which surrounds the universe in three and a half concentric circles by Mitra and Varuṇa who are proclaimed as *apāṁ netāraḥ*. The powers that lead the waters are also said to be the parent powers that condense knowledge into the Brahmāṇḍa whose intelligence is known as Dakṣa and the condensation of the waters of intelligence as Aditi, the individual mind the *devamātā*. Mitra and Varuṇa are termed as the patron-powers of the waters as well as those of Dakṣa. Agni is the one genius of creation and the twin-powers out of him to further the work of creation, are Mitra and Varuṇa who supervise the functions of *prāṇa* as Aśvins, of lightning as the alternating light and darkness, of thunder as sound and stillness, in the three firmaments, two of which are of the creative Savitṛ and the third is of Yama. The central powers that precipitate the work of creation at all levels are called the parents. Strictly speaking, they can well be understood to be the two component poles of the operations of the whole of reality, and named as the anode and the cathode, the positive and negative poles of the basic flood of power, conscious beyond human grasp. The watery clouds, the showers of fire, light and sound at the three levels of the three firmaments are symbolic of the transforming processes and transmutating stages. The cathode and the anode of the electric power cells resolve and compose energy, necessary for any kind of working operations. The column of waters between the earth and the sky in the intervening *antarikṣa* is the column of dense vapours and gases and is filled with darkness which may be said to be densest light, darkening and blinding the ordinary eyes with its glare and intensity, for in the zones of its lesser density are interspread the regions of the varying lights of the various planets and stars. The column of Varuṇa's gaseous waters in the *rodasī* is similar to the discharge tube which would exhibit varying rings of light when the vapours occupying the tube have the least pressure and density. The varying shades of light emanating from the hidden fire of the darkness are distinctly said to be twenty-one, and vaguely twenty-two. Thus Agni

59 द्यौर्मे पिता जनिता नाभिरत्र बन्धुर्मे माता पृथिवी महीयं ।
उत्तानयोश्चम्वो३र्योनिरंतरत्रा पिता दुहितुर्गर्भमाधात् । RV. 1. 164. 33

shines from the heart of the darkness in all his twenty-one colours and their multiples. When they are full, they are the sixty-three of Maruts' powers of the circle of Indra's weapon, the Vajra, supplied by Tvaṣṭṛ for the many powerful battles of Indra and this Vajra is the composite weapon of all the powers of the waters themselves. The Maruts are the powers inherent in the waters of consciousness and emerge in various combinations to work out the objects and purposes of any power or *deva* of Rudra, Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, etc., in their several spheres and states. In the human constitutions, this basic consciousness of universal intelligence works in the several regions of the sensory and physical organs through the cognizance and functioning of the several kinds of essential fluids and other secretions such as saliva in the mouth or tears in the eyes etc., to attend to the needs, ordinary and emergent of the several organs, inner as well as the outer portions of the parts of the living constitution of the full awareness of the human being. It is from the flow of the ocean of universal consciousness that our human hearts too receive the flood of individual consciousness.[60] The waters are therefore said to contain the powers of immortality and rectitude and the *devas* alone are capable of declaring the powers of the waters.[61]

60 एक: समुद्रो धरुणो रयीणामस्मद्धृदो भूरिजन्मा विचष्टे । RV. 10. 5. 1

61 अप्स्वं१तरमृतमप्सु भेषजमपामृत प्रशस्तये ।
देवा भवत वाजिन: ।। RV. 1. 23. 19

D. T. Tatacharya

SRAUTA SŪTRAS

"There should be only the minimum number of syllables in a composition. This means that it should be as short or brief as possible. But at the same time it should be full of significance and cover or apply to a large number of instances. Unequivocal and containing no tautology it should be free from all other defects as well."[1] Literary compositions or sentences with these characteristics are called *sūtras*.

People in ancient India were anxious and particular to commit everything that was learnt to memory and this led to the invention of the *sūtra* form of literature. The founders or pioneers of almost all the *śāstras* wrote their works in this form.

The word *śrauta* distinguished the *sūtras* with which we are now concerned from what are called *Smārta-sūtras*. *Śrauta* means 'enjoined in *Śruti*' *i.e.*, *Veda* and *Smārta* means 'enjoined in the *Smṛti*'. The substantive with which these go is 'actions' and is to be supplied in the context. The title of our paper thus signifies 'the *sūtras* concerning with or pertaining to the actions enjoined in the *Vedas*.'

We all know that the bulk of the *Vedas* is concerned with actions which are varied and numerous. Only a small part at the end of each *Veda*, called *Upaniṣad*, deals with *Brahman* and topics related to it. Only one of the forty *adhyāyas* of the *Śukla-yajussaṁhitā* forms the *Iśāvāsyopaniṣad* and only two of the eighty *prapāṭhakas* of the *Black-yajurveda* are the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*. It is impossible to over-emphasize or exaggerate the importance attached to the Vedic actions by our ancestors. They believed that the welfare and prosperity of the people all over the world depended on these actions which are called *yajñas*. There are certain actions which are compulsory. When the particular time comes they must be performed:

यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति ।
सायं जुहोति प्रातर्जुहोति ।
यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत ।
पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेत ।
अमावास्यायां अमावास्यया यजेत ।
वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेत ।

Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa and Jyotiṣṭoma are the actions enjoined in these passages and these must be performed daily, in the morning and evening,

1 अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

and in every full-moon and new-moon day, and in every summer, respectively. These are compulsory (*nitya*). There are actions which are also compulsory but conditional (*naimittika*). Such as the Kṣāmavatī–iṣṭi: यस्य गृहान् दहत्यग्नये क्षामवते पुरोडाशं अष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत् ।
(Whose abode Agni burns he shall offer *aṣṭā-kapāla-puroḍāśa* to Agni Kṣāmavān.)

There is also a third group of actions such as is enjoined in the following passages:

सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत् ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः ।
उद्भिदा यजेत पशुकामः ।
कारीर्या वृष्टिकामो यजेत ।

These are called *kāmyas* (fruit-bearing). Failure to perform the actions pertaining to the first two groups will result in sin. But when performed they would purify the performer's soul and help in suppressing the two degrading qualities of the mind namely *rajas* and *tamas* and keep the good one, *sattva* developing and predominent. The performance of the actions of the third group is left to our choice. If we want to attain a particular result, we may perform the action which is enjoined as yielding that result. Otherwise we need not. But one may perform these *kāmya* actions without any desire to enjoy their fruits. In that case they, like the *nitya* and *naimittika* actions, become purificatory ones. All Vedic actions by nature are such as would remove all dirt and filth of the mind and ennoble the soul of the performers. But our desire to enjoy the ordinary results that would accrue from them brings them to a lower level and prevents them from producing their above mentioned natural and lofty effects.

There may be some who think that one who wants to attain immortality (*mumukṣu*) need not care for actions. But it is not so. For some Vedāntins, the means of *mukti* is the knowledge of Brahman and for others *bhakti*. The former maintain that the knowledge of Brahman (*jñāna*) comes only to him who has performed, with detachment and without any idea of reaping their result, actions in a number of previous births, while the latter declare that *bhakti* alone is not the means but *bhakti* with actions pertaining to one's *varṇa* and *āśrama* is the means. *Bhakti* unaided by action cannot be perfect and consequently cannot be effective. Actions, therefore, are absolutely necessary for all those who want to attain freedom from bondage (*mokṣa*).

So far we have been considering that aspect of the Vedic actions which benefit their performers individually. There is another aspect and that is by far more important. Any Vedic action when properly performed does good not only as stated above to the individual that performs it but to the whole country, nay, to the whole world. The *Vedas* themselves make this clear. But unfortunately this has been completely lost sight of and forgotten. Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa has taken much pains to explain the worth and value of

actions in the *Gītā*. " God created ", He says, " men together with *yajñas* and said to them 'you prosper with them.' This will grant all your desires This will supply all your wants."[2] Śrī Kṛṣṇa further said: " Creatures come into being from food, food comes from rain and rain from *yajña*."[3] This is the secret of all Vedic teachings. This is the basically fundamental point in Hinduism. The king of our classical poets, Kālidāsa, has well understood and appreciated this great truth. Describing King Dilīpa's rule, he says in his famous poem, *Raghuvaṁśa*:[4]

> "The king milked the earth-cow for the sake of *yajña* and Indra (milked) heaven (cow) for the sake of crops. Thus exchanging their wealth the two supported the two worlds."

This idea is again expressed by him at the end of his *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*.[5] Though thus there were a few enlightened great souls telling people how valuable and important *yajñas* are, others did not heed and were quite indifferent to it. It is not as if there were no men performing *yajñas*. There has been a number of them. But it is doubtful whether they have the good of the country or nation as a whole in their mind while performing them. Efflux of long time was responsible for the gradual fading away of the awareness of the universal importance of *yajña* on the part of the people and this resulted n the decay of Hinduism and disintegration of the Hindu society.

But in ancient times, everyone in the land knew full well how vitally and closely the life and prosperity of people were connected with *yajña*. All were convinced of its efficacy by their own experience and firmly believed in it. It is said " *Dharma* which means *yajña*, either heard or seen, remembered or spoken of or appreciated, results in one's purity." There is also an advice " one should go to witness a *yajña* uninvited." It was the principal duty prescribed for a twice-born to master and study the *Veda* as a *barhmacārin* and then to perform *yajñas* as a *gṛhastha*. Kings always aspired to perform, besides other *yajñas*, Aśvamedha, the greatest among the sacrifices.

One may perform *yajñas* because Vedic commands must be obeyed. Another may do so with an idea to please God and yet another with some selfish motive. But the *yajñas* though performed with no intention to do good to the people at large will themselves yield that result. But those that are wise enough to know this truth about the Vedic actions and perform them with the sole object of serving mankind are really the great and venerable souls. This inherent and beneficial characteristic of *yajñas* makes them fit to be called " *dharmas* " since *dharma* means that which supports and brings happiness.

When we bear in mind all that has been said so far about the importance and value of *yajñas* we will be in a position to understand how anxious the

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2. BG. III. 10
3. BG. III. 14
4. R. I. 26.
5. cf AS. VII. 34

ancients would have been to perform them rightly and properly. *Yajñas*, to be effective, required to be conducted without any mistake or blunder even in respect of their minutest details. To be able to perform them properly, one should know definitely the nature and number of the principles and the subsidiaries, the time, place and order according to which they are to be performed. The only source of information about these was the *Veda*. But the *Vedas* are texts too difficult to be understood and interpreted by men of ordinary intelligence and wisdom. So great and kind-hearted *ṛṣis* engaged themselves in the task of giving the information about these and as a result, a vast literature called *Śrauta-sūtras* came into existence. Those, who learned the *Vedas*, studied these also and this helped them much in playing their part in the performance of these actions either as the sacrificer *(yajamāna)* or as the priest *(ṛtvik)*.

As the contents of the *Śrauta-sūtras* are the same as those of the *Vedas*, it appears that some scholars considered the former as *Vedas* or as an authority on a par with them. Jaimini in his *Pūrva-mīmāṁsa* assigns a subsection *(adhikaraṇa)* known as *Kalpa-sūtrādhikaraṇa*[6], wherein he discusses this question and comes to the conclusion that they are only works of men *(pauruṣeyas)*. They are authoritative on the *smṛti* level and not on the *śruti* level.

Vedic actions are of many kinds. One division of them is based on the diversity of oblations to be offered to gods; *iṣṭi*, *paśu* and *soma*. In the first of these kinds, the oblation is something prepared from some corn, milk, curd or ghee. In the last two, it is prepared from the flesh of an animal and *soma*-plant-juice respectively. In the *Soma* sacrifices there are, besides various kinds of offerings, special invocations to gods. These invocations are of two kinds called *Stotra* and *Śastra*. Recital of *Ṛk mantras* with singing is *stotra*[7] and that without singing is *śastra*.[8] These three main items of the *soma* sacrifice, oblation, offering, *stotra* and *śastra* are done by three different priests called *adhvaryu*, *udgātā* and *hotā* respectively. In order to be able to discharge their respective functions in the sacrifices these three chief priests must have mastered the three *Vedas: adhvaryu Yajurveda*, *udgātā Sāmaveda* and *hotā Ṛgveda*.- Accordingly the *Śrauta-sūtras* also, fall into three groups as belonging to the three *Vedas*.

Group I belonging to the Yajurveda:

1. *Bodhāyana* 2. *Bhāradvāja* 3. *Āpasthmba* 4. *Satyāṣāḍha*, 5. *Mānavā*, 6. *Vaikhānasa* and 7. *Kātyāyana*

Of these *Mānava* belongs to *Maitrāyaṇīya śākhā* of the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda*, *Kātyāyana* to the *Śukla-yajurveda* and all the rest to the *Taittirīyaśākhā* of the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda*.

6. JS. II. 3;11. 14
7. JNM II. 1. 5
8. ibid

Group II belonging to the Sāmaveda.

1. *Maśaka (ārṣeya Kalpa)*, 2. *Lāṭyāyana*, 3. *Drāhyāyaṇa*

Group III belonging to the Ṛgveda.

1. *Śāṅkhāyana* and 2. *Āśvalāyana.*

Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā* is a science of textual interpretation. There are about one thousand sections (*adhikaraṇas*) in this *śāstra.* Generally in each of these sections, the author refers to a certain Vedic passage of doubtful meaning, indicates expressly or impliedly the *prima facie* meaning with reasons in support of it and then rejecting it, states what according to him, is the true import of the passage and why it should be so. In this way, he lays down principles to be followed in interpreting the sacred texts. *Mīmāṁsā* is therefore called the 'science of sentence.' There could be no doubt that like Jaimini, all the authors of the *Śrauta-sūtras* were great Mīmāṁsists, though their works are not on *Mīmāṁsā*, like Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsāsūtra* but only *Śrauta-sūtras.* Since their aim was to write manuals facilitating proper conduct of sacrifices, their works cannot be, in any way, different from what they actually are.

The *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* begins with *iṣetvorjetvā. iṣe tvā* is one sentence and *ūrje tvā* another. Most probably for this reason, the author of one *Śrauta-sūtra* takes these as two different *mantras* applicable to two different actions, while the author of another *Śrauta-sūtra* takes both the sentences as one *mantra* applicable to only one action. The reason may be this: There is no verb in the first sentence. The two words mean 'thee for the sake of food' and these require a verb to complete the meaning. What can it be? It must be a verb which is not auspicious to use in the very opening formula of the *Veda.*

In connection with the preparation of oblations to be offered in the sacrifice next day, the milch cows and their calves have to be separated and driven away to different pastures on the previous day in the morning. For this purpose, a stick is required. The *adhvaryu* priest should fetch it. He goes to a *palāśa* tree in the forest nearby and facing it, addresses the small branch: 'Thee for the sake of food'—food for gods and then for men. Now it is clear that he wants to say 'I cut thee for the sake of food' but he would not say bluntly 'I cut thee.' So he omits it, though he means it. If, thus, the omission is to be explained by assuming that the verb meant in the first sentence is 'cut,' the same must be the case in the second sentence. If any other verb was meant there, it would have been expressly mentioned. So according to the *ṛṣi,* both the sentences form one *mantra* indicating only one action, namely cutting, which the *adhvaryu* priest does.

Such might have been the method followed by the authors of the *Śrauta-sūtras* to determine the intended meaning of the Vedic passages. One

reason may weigh with one author and another with another. There are bound to be, therefore, differences in their reasonings, interpretations and conclusions. These may form an interesting subject of study and a fertile field for research-work for intelligent and enthusiastic scholars.

In the *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* there is ample evidence to show that Kātyāyana is later than Jaimini and that he has seen *Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras* of Jaimini. It may be safely said that all other authors of the *Śrautasūtras* preceded Jaimini. Their chronological order is yet to be determined.

For the *Atharva-veda* also, there is a *Śrauta-sūtra* called *Vaitāna-sūtra*. But since this *Veda*, though called the *Veda* of Brahman, the fourth priest, has little to do with *yajñas*, this *Śrauta-sūtra* thus had not gained so much importance as all other *Śrauta-sūtras* have done.

V. Varadachari

GṚHYASŪTRAS

The word *gṛhya* is derived from the word *gṛha* which means house.[1] It refers to those rites which a householder (*gṛhastha*) has to perform.[2] It is taken to mean also the fire[3] which the householder is to use for performing the rites ordained by the *Smṛtis*. With the passage of time, it has its applicability extended to acts other than those to be performed with the aid of the sacred fire, such as trade, building of the house, journey and others. Thus it is found used to stand for the deeds sacred and profane in character which concern the life of a householder.

The rites and deeds of these natures are treated in the form of aphorisms in works called *Gṛhyasūtras* which form part of the *kalpa* section, one of the accessories (*aṅga*) of the *Vedas*. The *Gṛhyasūtras* were composed after the *Śrautasūtras*, to whose treatment of certain rites they refer.[4]

These rites are in general of two kinds with the names *śrauta* and *smārta*. The former ones, which are enjoined by the *Brāhmaṇa* portion of the *Vedas*, are dealt with in the *Śrautasūtras*. The *smārta* rites, though ordained in a way by the *Brāhmaṇas*, are prescribed with sufficient details by the *Smṛti* texts and are to be performed with the aid of the *mantras* of the *Vedas*. These are dealt with in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, which treat also the conventional and everyday practices and are also called *Smārtasūtras*.

Some of the *gṛhya* rites are referred to in the Vedic texts, rather in a casual manner.[5] In practice, certain portions of the *mantras* of the *Vedas* must have been used for utterance in connection with the performance of certain rites. These could have formed the source for the compilation of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, which, besides prescribing the rules for the performance of certain rites, cite specific *mantras* to be uttered on such occasions.[6] The names

1. The formation of this word is approved by the *sūtra* IV-4-98 of Pāṇini.
2. Vide:—Haradatta's commentary on *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* I-1-1.
3. Vide:—यस्मिन्नग्नौ पाणिं गृह्णीयात् स गृह्यः *Khādira Gṛhyasūtra* I-5-1.
4. Vide:—*Āśvalāyana* I. 1-1.
5. Vide:—*Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* VIII-10-9. *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* I-7-1. Baudhāyana interprets this passage as dealing with *pākayajña*. *Baudhāyanīyagṛhyaparibhāṣā* I-2-1. *Taittrīya-brāhmaṇa* I-5-2. Note Āpastamba's interpretation of this passage. III-3.
6. Vide:—*Taittirīya-saṁhitā* III-3-1. for *upanayana*.
Ṛksaṁhitā I-24-1. for worship of fire.
Ṛk-saṁhitā VIII-7-13. for *vāstukarma*.

of some sages are cited in connection with the performance of certain rites.[7] The *Gṛhyasūtras* owe, also for their development, to the customs and practices of people in certain areas of the country.[8] The authority for some rites is referred to women.[9]

As people follow generally one of the four *Vedas* and associate themselves with only particular branch (*śākhā*) of the *Vedas*, the *Gṛhyasūtras* are many, each one attached to a particular branch of a *Veda*. Some among these are now lost and are known to have been available from the citations from them in the *Smṛti* texts.

To the *Ṛgveda* are attached three *Gṛhyasūtras* which are available in print. They are *Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, *Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtra* and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*. The *Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, which belongs to the *Śāṅkhyāyanaśākhā*, was written by Suyajña, a pupil of Kauṣītaka. The *Kauṣītaka Gṛhyasūtra*, which belongs to the *Kauṣītakaśākhā* and which is called in the colophon as *Kauśitakasūtra*, was written by Śāmbavya, another pupil of Kauṣītaka.[10] The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* which belongs to the *Āśvalāyanaśākhā*, was composed by Āśvalāyana, a pupil of Śaunaka who is mentioned by the author.[11] This quotes a *kārikā* under the name *Abhiyajña-gāthā*.[12] It is learnt from other sources that there were the *Śaunaka Gṛhya-sūtra*,[13] *Bhāravīya Gṛhyasūtra*,[14] *Paiṅgi Gṛhyasūtra*,[15] *Pārāśara Gṛhyasūtra*,[16] *Bahvṛca Gṛhyasūtra*,[17] *Aitareya Gṛhyasūtra*[18] and *Śākalya Gṛhyasūtra*,[19] all of which are lost.

7. Aṅgiras (I-3-16), Bādari (I-5-44), Kāśakṛtsna (I-5-44) and others are mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, Ātreya in the *sūtras* of Baudhāyana (I-3-15; I-5-44) and Bhāradvāja, Āśmarathya in the *sūtras* of Bhāradvāja, Māṇḍūkeya in the *sūtras* of Śāṅkhyāyana and Kauṣītaka (IV-5) in the *sūtras* of Śāṅkhyāyana and Agniveśa (p. 153), Śaunaka in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (4-8-7; 4-10-39), Baudhāyana in the *Agniveśa Gṛhyasūtra* (p.150), Gārgya (IX-10), Kauśika (XI-46) and Māṭhara (138-16) in the *Kauśika Gṛhyasūtras*, Gautama in the *sūtras* of Jaimini, Kautsa in the *sūtras* of Gobhila and Cyavanabhṛgu in the *Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra*.

8. Vide:—*Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra* III-1-7.

9. Vide:—*Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra* I-2-15.

10. *Śāṅkhyāyana* and *Kauṣītaka* by Dr. T. R. Chintamani—Ninth All India Oriental Conference pp. 180-194.

11. *Āṣvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* IV-8-7; IV-10-39.

12. *ibid.*, I-3-10; The view of Śāmbavya the author of Kauṣītaki *Gṛhyasūtra* is cited IV-10-22.

13. Cited by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in the *Abhyudyapradā*. Vide; *Tanjore Catalogue* 13 b.

14. Cited by Bhavatrātā in his commentary on the *Kauṣitakī Gṛhyasūtra* p. 69.

15. Cited by Gopīnātha in the *Saṁskāraratnamālā* p. 16, Introduction to *Kauṣītakī Gṛhyasūtra*.

16. Hiralal: *Catalogue of Mss. in the Central Provinces No*. 2868.

17. *Vaidika Vāṅmaya kā Itihāsa*—Part I pp. 121, 128-129.

18. ibid.,

19. Cited by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya in his commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī*.

The *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, which is known also as *Kātīya Gṛhyasūtra*[20] and *Vājasaneya Gṛhyasūtra*, are attached to the *Śuklayajurveda*. Its author is Pāraskara who is also known as Kātyāyana, son of Gobhila.[21] This is the only *sūtra* of this *Veda* that is extant. The other *sūtra* is the *Baijavāpa Gṛhyasūtra*[22] which is now lost.

Nine *Gṛhyasūtras* are now available for the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*. They are (i) *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, (ii) *Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra* (iii) *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra* (iv) *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra* which is also known as *Satyāṣāḍha Gṛhyasūtra*, (v) *Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* (vi) *Agniveśa Gṛhyasūtra* (vii) *Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra*, (viii) *Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra* and (ix) *Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra*. Of these, the first six *sūtras* are attached to the *Taittirīya* recension, the seventh and the ninth belong to the *Maitrāyaṇīya* recension and the eighth to the *Kaṭha* recension. It is said that the *Maitrāyaṇīya* school studies the *Vājasaneya saṁhitā* and follows the *Mānavakalpasūtra*.[23] There seems to have existed one *Maitrāyaṇīyasūtra* for the *Maitrāyaṇīya* recension distinct from this and one *Anugrahikasūtra* for the *Mānavas* who form one of the six subdivided schools of the *Maitrāyaṇīya* recension.[24] Similarly, the *Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra* belongs to the *Vārāha* subdivision of the *Maitrāyaṇīya* recension.[25] Likewise, it is held that the *Agniveśa Gṛhyasūtra* is attached to the *Agniveśa* school which forms a subdivision of the *Vādhūlas*, belonging to the *Taittirīya* recension.[26] The *Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra* is also known as *Gṛhyapañcikā*, as it contains five chapters and as *Laugākṣi Gṛhyasūtra* which is attributed to Laugākṣi in the Kashmir tradition. Lost in their originals are the *Sāṇḍilya Gṛhyasūtra*,[27] *Māvila Gṛhyasūtra*[28] and *Maitreya-sūtra*.[29]

To the *Sāmaveda* are attached (i) *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, (ii) *Khādira Gṛhyasūtra*, (iii) *Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra* and (iv) *Kauthuma Gṛhyasūtra*. The *Khādira Gṛhyasūtra*, attributed to Khādira, agrees with the *Drāhyāṇa Gṛhyasūtra*. It belongs to the school of *Śārdūlas*.[30] The third mentioned work belongs to the *Jaiminīya* recension and the last mentioned work is only a fragment of a *Paddhati*, a guide-book and is erroneously referred to as *Gṛhyasūtra*.

20. *Kātīya* composed by Kātya which is another name for Kātyāyana, also called as Pāraskara.

21. Vide:—Introduction to *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* p. 1. Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 118.

22. Vide:—*Proceedings of the* Fourth *Oriental Conference* Vol. II pp. 59-67. Baijāvāpa is mentioned by Aṣṭāvakra in his commentary on the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* pp. 106, 109.

23. Vide:—*Caraṇavyūhabhāṣya* p. 33.

24. *Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra*—Introduction p. 16.

25. ibid.,

26. Introduction to the *Agniveśa Gṛhyasūtra* p. iii. The *śrāddha* is to be performed also by the star. p. 131.

27. Cited by Rudradatta in his commentary on the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* IX-11-21.

28. Cited in the *Saṁskārāratnamālā*, p. 607.

29. ibid., p. 170.

30. Dr. W. Caland: Introduction to *Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra*, p. iii.

The *Gautama Gṛhyasūtra*[31] and *Chāndogya Gṛhyasūtra*,[32] which are said to belong to this *Veda* and are said to be lost, are found, from the citations in *Dharmaśāstra* texts, to be non-different from the *Khādira* and *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtras* respectively.

The *Kauśikasūtra* is the only one *Gṛhyasūtra* attached to the *Atharvaveda*. It belongs to the *Kauśika* recension. There is more magic and *non-gṛhya* material in this work. It is an admixture of *Atharvasūtras*[33] on the rite, specifically dealt with in the *Atharvaveda* and *Gṛhyasūtras*.

The dates of these *sūtras* are different and are fixed on the strength of language and references to other *sūtras*.[34] The *Gṛhyasūtras* of Āśvalāyana Baudhāyana, Mānava, Kauṣītaka and Gobhila are placed in the earliest period. To the next period belong the *Gṛhyasūtras* of Śāṅkhyāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Pāraskara, and Kāṭhaka. Next follow those of Drāhyāyaṇa, Khādira, Jaimini, and Hiraṇyakeśin. Last come those of Vārāha, Vaikhānasa and Agniveśa.

Most of the *Gṛhyasūtras* cite the relevant *mantras* which are to be uttered while performing the rites from a collection of *mantras* called *Mantrapāṭha* or *Mantrapraśna*.[35] This collection is based on the *karmakāṇḍa* section of the particular recension of the *Veda* to which the *sūtra* is attached. It appears that there must have been a *Brāhmaṇa* which dealt with the *gṛhya* rites only. This is evident from the citations and references made to the *Brāhmaṇa* in some of the *Gṛhyasūtras*.[36] There must also have been available a common stock of prescriptions for many of the rites from which the

31. Cited in the *Gṛhyaratna*.

32. Aṣṭāvakra: Commentary on the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* I-16-4.

33. See Introduction p. xxi by M. Bloomfield to his edition of the *Kauśikasūtras*—*Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtras* have three chapters on omens and portents.

34. Ramgopal: *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, chapter IV.

35. The *Mantrapāṭha* is a collection of the *mantras* taken from various contexts of the *Saṁhitā* of a particular *Veda*. There are *mantrapāṭhas* for *Vaikhānasasūtra*. Such a collection for the Yajurvedins goes by the name of *Mantrapraśna*. The *mantras* included here form part of *Vaiśvadevakāṇḍa*, which is only the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka*. This collection for the followers of the *Sāmaveda* is found in the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*.

36. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, I-12-10.

ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयस्तेषामुत्सन्नाः पाठाः प्रयोगादनुमीयन्ते ।

The following are few among the references to the use of the word *brāhmaṇa* which the *Gṛhyasūtras* contain while citing the authority for the performance of the sacred rites.

Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I-1-5; IV-9-6.

Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtra, VI-3.

Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra I-3-8; I-7-36. This *sūtra* refers to a *Śāṭyāyanaka Brāhmaṇa* in II-5-25; 11-5-43.

Apastamba Gṛhyasūtra III-8-12; VI-15-10; I-3-3.

Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra I-20, 21. *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* mentions one *Rauruki Brāhmaṇa* III-2-6.

compilers of the *Gṛhyasūtras* framed the *sūtras* consistent with the traditions and practices prevalent among the followers of their recensions of the *Vedas*.[37]

There does not appear any unanimity of opinion among the authors of the *Gṛhyasūtras* regarding the number *gṛhya* rites and the order in which they are to be enumerated. In fact, the *Gṛhyasūtras* do not enumerate and number them. The numbering of them is possible to be done in some *sūtras*. Forty is the number of rites according to later writers on the *Dharmaśāstra*.[38] According to some *sūtras*, the *gṛhya* rites are called *pākayajña*[39] which is of three kinds namely *huta*, *ahuta* and *prahuta*.[40] Some *sūtras* add *prāśita* as the fourth.[41] From the *Dharmaśāstras*, it is learnt that the rites are called *saṁskāras*[42] which means a purificatory act, an act which gives rise to a peculiar excellence in the soul of the person performing them or in the body or soul of the person for whom they are intended. The effect thus produced may be two-fold, namely, producing a positive merit

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37. Therefore *Kauthumas* and *Rāṇāyanīyas* follow *Gobhilasūtra*. Vide:—Āśārka on the *Karmapradīpa, Caturvargacintāmaṇi—śraddhakalpa*—pp. 1424, 1460, 1468. This shows that the need was not felt for a particular branch to have its own set of *Gṛhyasūtras*.

38. Vide:—*Saṁskāraratnamālā*, p. 2.

39. Vide:—त्रय: पाकयज्ञा: *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I-1-2; चत्वार: पाकयज्ञ: *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* I-4, *Jaimini Gṛhyasūtra* I.1; अथात: पाकयज्ञान् व्याख्यास्याम: *Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtra* I.1. Āpastamba states that the rites shall be called *pākayajña* only when they are performed according to the mode of performing the *pākayajña*. Vide:—*Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra*, I-2-9. According to Bodhāyana, seven rites come under this category of *pākayajña*. Vide:—*Bodhayana Gṛhyasūtra*, I-1-1. The word *pāka* in *pākayajña* is interpreted differently by the commentators on the *Gṛhyasūtras*. It is taken as meaning small. Vide:-*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* commentary of Haradatta I-1-2. Its smallness is due to the fact that it is carried out with small effort. The *pāka* shall mean also glorious, as doing these rites yields great results. Vide:-Haradatta on Āśvalāyana I-1-2. cf. *Jaimini Gṛhyasūtravyākhyā* p. 40. Sudarśanācārya takes the word *pākayajña* as the rite which is to be performed with the cake that is cooked (*pakvena caruṇā*), Vide:— Sudarśanācārya's commentary on the *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra* I-2-9

40. *Pākayajña* is of three kinds under the names *huta*, *ahuta* and *prahuta*. That is *huta* in which oblations are offered in the sacred fire as in *vivāha* and *sīmantonnayana*. That is *ahuta* in which the oblations are offered, are given and also taken, as in *upanayana* and *samāvartana*. That is *prahuta* in which the oblations are offered and are given as in *jātakarma*. Vide:—*Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* I-1-3 to 8. The word *prahuta* is interprted as that which is not done in the sacred fire, as in *Baliharaṇa* and *Brahmayajña*. The third (*i.e.*, other than *huta* and *prahuta*) is *brahmaṇihuta* which means feeding the Brahmins. Vide:—*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* with Haradatta's commentary I-1-3. Some writers read *āhuta* as *ahuta* and mean that rite which does not involve the performance of a *homa*, *e.g.*, *sandhyopāsana*. *Prahuta* includes *homa* and some other as an important rite and act, as in *puṁsavana* which has the *puṁliṅgapraśna* in addition to the *homa*. Vide:—*Jaimini Gṛhyasūtra* with the commentary of Śrīnivāsādhvarin p. 40.

41. Many *Gṛhyasūtras* mention *prāśita* as the fourth variety of *pākayajña*; in which what is offered is taken in or in which feeding plays an important role. Vide:—*Kauṣītaki. Gṛhyasūtra* I-10; *Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra* I-1-IV; *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtras* IV-1; *Kāṭhaka* II-1-1 to 6; Cf. *Manusmṛti* III—73, 74.

42. Vide:—*Manusmṛti* quoted in the *Saṁskāraratnamālā*, p. 4. Hārīta cited in the *Smṛticandrikā*, p. 13. Note Śabara's definition of the word *saṁskāra*, *Śabarabhāṣya* on Jaimini's *sūtra* III-1-3; *Tantravārttika* p. 1078.

which enables the doer or the object fit for some other rite and removing the impurity in the person.[43] The word *saṁskāra* does not occur in any of these *sūtras* except in the *Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* which refers to seven rites as *pākayajña* and to eighteen as the *saṁskāras* of the body.[44] Some of the rites are referred to as *haviryajña*[45] and *somayajña*,[46] each of which includes seven rites. Besides purifying the soul of persons, there seems to have been other significant and immediate purposes also intended to be served by the performance of these rites. While some served to espouse spiritual and cultural purposes, some produced a psychological effect. Mystical and symbolical ends were the aims in some cases. By performing some among these, people made it possible to utilise those occasions to give expression to their love and endearment for others. That people, though given to seriousness while performing them, shared with others the mirth and gay of the festive occasions is revealed in some rites. The sacramental character of marriage serves to show that the couple get up-lifted through self-restraint, self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation.[47]

One notewrothy feature in these *sūtras* is that they are closely related to the *Dharmasūtras*. One has to become a householder for performing the *gṛhya* rites. To become a householder one must have had his *upanayana* and *snāna*. The rules regarding the daily way of life and other aspects not covered by the *Gṛhyasūtras* are binding on the non-*gṛhastha* and *gṛhastha* as well. The *Dharmasūtras* deal with many of these topics.[48] Some of the *Gṛhyasūtras* deal with most of these.[49] This shall be explained on the ground that the authors of the *Gṛhyasūtras* look upon these non-*gṛhya* duties as having general applicability to all without reference to the differences in the recensions of the *Vedas*.

The importance attached to a particular rite by a writer of the *sūtras* explains the treatment of that rite at the beginning of his *sūtras*. The *Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra* begins with *jātakarma*. The details as to how preparations are

43. *Tantravāttika*, p. 1115.

44. *Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* p. 1.

45. *Smṛticandrikā*, I, p. 13.

The rites *āgrayaṇa*, *aṣṭaka*, *īśānabali* and others, though they are brought under *haviryajña* and *somayajña*, are treated as *gṛhya* rites by the authors of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, such as Āpastamba. By performing *pākayajña*, one becomes *śrotriya* by doing *haviryajña* also he becomes *anūcāna*, by *somayajña* in addition to these, he becomes *bhrūṇa* and doing all these and observing *yama* (*Yogasūtra* II-30) and *niyama* (*Yogasūtra* II-32) he becomes *ṛṣikalpa*, by doing penance in addition, he becomes a *ṛṣi* and if he is devoted to Nārāyaṇa alone, he becomes *muni*. *Vaikhānasa* p. 2.

46. ibid.,

47. *History of Dharmaśātra*, Vol. II Part I pp. 191-193.

48. *Āpastamba* and *Bodhāyana Dharmasūtras*.

49. *Upanayana*, *samāvartana* and others are non-*gṛhya* rites, yet they are dealt with in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, such as the *Gṛhyasūtras* of Bodhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and others.

to be made for litting the sacred fire mark the beginning of the *sūtras* of Āpastamba, Khādira and Gobhila. The *Vaikhānasasūtra* deals with the rules of *snāna* of the *brahmacārin*, while the *Kāṭhaka* deals with the *vratas* of the *brahmacārin*. The rite of *upanayana* receives treatment in the *sūtras* of Hiraṇyakeśin, Bhāradvāja, Mānava and Agnīveśa. The *sūtras* of Āśvalāyana, Kauṣītaka, Jaimini and Kauśika start with the treatment of *pākayajñas*.

A brief reference shall be made here to what strikes as peculiar and significant in the treatment of some of the well-known rites. All the *sūtras* treat with the rites of *jātakarma*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *upanayana*, *puṁsavana* and *sīmantonnayana*. The act of giving the name to the child is to be done when *jātakarma* is performed and this name shall remain a secret name known only to the parents of the child.[50] This name is to be used by the child when it grows into a boy while doing *abhivādana* to the parents on the occasion of *upanayana*.[51] Some *sūtras* have a separate occasion on the 10th or 12th day from the day of birth of the child for giving the name to the child.[52] There are restrictions about the component parts of the word which is given as denoting the name of the child.[53] The name shall be derived from the name of the star in which the child is born.[54] Some *sūtras* recommend a name like *somayājī* to be given as a third name,[55] while a few would like a public name also to be given to the child.[56]

Interesting details are given about the marriage rite. The purpose of married life is indicated in some *sūtras*. The causes which shall require consideration for the selection of the bride and bridegroom are analysed with a special appeal to the modern mind. Wealth, attractive physical appearance, intelligence and family traditions require special consideration. If all these are not available, one may be discarded in the order in which these are here enumerated.[57] A bride shall not choose to live with one who is bereft of intelligence.[58] Education is an additional factor according to

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50. *Gobhila*. *Khādira*, *Āpastamba*, *Hiraṇyakeśin* and *Vaikhānasa* do not give rules about the secret name. *Āśvalāyana* I-13-9; *Āpastamba* VI-15-2 & 3, *Jaimini* I-8; *Gobhila* II-7-16.

51. *Āśvalāyana* I-13-9.

52. It is to be given on the 10th day, *Pāraskara* I-22; *Vārāha* III-1. *Āpastamba* VI-15-8. It is on the 12th day, *Agniveśa* II-1-5; *Jaimini* I-9, 10th or 12th day, *Baudhāyana* II-1-23.

53. *Āśvalāyana* I-13-5 to 8; *Baudhāyana* II-1-25 to 30; *Āpastamba* VII-5-9 to 11; *Jaimini* I-9.

54. This shall be the secret name, *Vaikhanasa* III-19. cf. *Agniveśa* II-1-5.

55. *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra* II-4-11 to 19.

56. Cf. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* III-6-2-24.

57. *Bhāradvāja* I-11. Learning is an additional factor, *Vārāha*, X-5. Family traditions of both father and mother are to be examined. *Āśvalāyana* I-4-8 & 9.

58. *Bhāradvāja* I-11. अप्रज्ञेन कः संवासः

some *sūtras*.[59] Some *sūtras* stress on good behaviour and health of the bride.[60] It is said that only that girl is to be chosen who gets attracted to the mind and eyes of the bridegroom and perhaps to his party also.[61] It is curious to note that these *sūtras* do not make any reference to the agreement between the horoscopes of the boy and girl, although *sagotra* marriages are disallowed.[62] The bridegroom shall get the permission of the parents for the marriage.[63] The *sūtras* tolerate only the first four types of marriages namely, *Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Ārṣa* and *Prājāpatya*. There is no sanction in these *sūtras* for the *Svayaṁvara* type although the *Gāndharva* type is recommended by some.[64]

The *sūtras* deal in detail with the items of the marriage rite such as *pāṇigrahaṇa*, *agnipariṇayana*, *aśmārohaṇa*, *sāptapadī* and *lājahoma*. What is curious to note here is that no definite order is observed in treating these. While *pāṇigrahaṇa* is treated at first in most of the *sūtras*,[65] *agnipariṇayana* takes precedence over others in some *sūtras*.[66] The item *sāptapadī* which consists in making the bride take seven steps in the north-eastern quarter is considered to be very important and it is held that marriage becomes irrevocable after this. Each of the seven steps is intended to be taken for gaining a specific purpose, namely, saplike energy (*iṣe*), strength (*ūrje*), increase of wealth (*rāyaspoṣāya*), well-being (*māyobhavyāya*), offspring (*prajābhyaḥ*), seasons (*ṛtubhyaḥ*) and friend (*sakhā*). The enumeration of these purposes is not kept in this order in all the *Gṛhyasūtras*.[67] Few *sūtras* refer to the placing of the yoke above the head of the bride on this occasion.[68] Similarly, only one *sūtra* makes a reference to the tying of the string around the wrist of the bride by her kinsmen.[69]

59. The bride also shall be intelligent. *Āśvalāyana* I-4-10. Cf. the *mantra* quoted in the *Vārāha* X-6.

60. *Āśvalāyana*, I-4-10; *Āpastamba*, I-3-19.

61. *Āpastamba*, I-3-21.

62. *Gobhila*, III-4-4-5; *Jaimini*, I-20; *Hiraṇyakeśin*, I-19-2.

63. *Jaimini*, I-20; *Hiraṇyakeśin*, I-19-12.

64. *Āśvalāyana*, I-4-29 for definition. The *Gṛhyasūtras* do not recommend this but some *Dharma sūtras* do. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I-11-16, 20; *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II-11-20.

65. *Āśvalāyana*, *Āpastamba* and others.

66. *Khādira* and *Gobhila*.

67. Some *sūtras* mention *hotā* (office of the priest) as the purpose of the seventh step, *e.g.*, *Vārāha*, *Agniveśa*, *Vaikhānasa*, *Baudhāyana*, *Hiraṇyakeśin* and *Gobhila*. *Āpastamba* does not mention the purposes. Except *Kauśika* which substitutes strength (*ūrje*) in the place of saplike energy (*iṣe*) all the *sūtras* mention saplike energy (*iṣe*) as the purpose for the first step. Observation of the vow (*vrata*) is mentioned as the purpose for one among these steps by *Agniveśa*, *Baudhāyana*, *Gobhila*, *Hiraṇyakeśin*. True to the material progress in view of the *Atharvaveda*, the *Kauśikasūtra* mentions good fortune (*saubhāgya*), complete sovereignty (*sāmrājya*), wealth (*sampat*) and life (*jīvātu*).

68. *Kauśika* 76-11 to 13; *Āpastamba*, II-4-8.

69. *Kauṣītaki*, I-12; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* mentions this not in relation to marriage I-15-1 to 7.

Interesting matter is given by these *sūtras* under the item of *lājahoma*. The fried grains shall be kept ready for use and placed in the hand of the bride by her brother or cousin (who stands to her in the relation of her brother), or a *brahmacārin* or mother or in her absence her mother, or any lady who is not a widow. This may be done by any one who is a friend (in his disposition) of the bride or her father.[70] According to some *sūtras*, the fried grains are to be mixed up with the sprouts of the *śamī* tree.[71] The bridegroom shall offer the fried grains into the fire holding the bride's hands and letting the grains fall into the fire from her hands.[72] Some hold that both the bride and bridegroom shall do it.[73] The bride, according to one *sūtra*, shall stand and do it.[74] Some writers hold that the winnowing fan shall be used for this *homa*.[75] This *homa* is to be done twice and for a third time by those who are the descendents of *Jamadagni*.[76] Some enjoin three *homas* and a fourth one without the utterance of the *mantras*, if some desire is to be achieved.[77] Some writers hold that *aśmārohaṇa*, *lājahoma* and *agnipariṇayana* shall follow in succession and repeated thrice.[78]

One *sūtra* refers to the act of blessing the couple with unbroken rice just prepared (*ārdrākṣata*).[79] At night fall, the bridegroom shall point out to the bride, the pole-star (*Dhruvanakṣatra*). Some require the star *Arundhatī*. *Saptarṣimaṇḍala* and others to be shown on this occasion.[80] Most of the *sūtras* require this to be done in the bridegroom's residence, to which the bride and bridegroom are taken after the marriage rites are over.[81]

70. *Vārāha*, XIV-18; *Kauṣītaki*, I-13; *Kāṭhaka*, III-1-29; *Mānava*, I-11-11; *Āśvalāyana*, I-5-8. The bride's brother is called *syāla*. Note Yāska's interpretation of this word: स्याल आसन्नः संयोगेनेति नैदानाः । स्याल्लाजानावपतीति वा। *Naigamakāṇḍa* VI-9.

71. *Vārāha*, XIV; *Gobhila*, I-10-14; *Kauṣītaki*, I-13; *Pāraskara*, I-6; *Kāṭhaka*, III-1-29; *Mānava* I-11-10; *Jaimini* 10-14; *Drāhyāyaṇa* I-3-20.

·72. *Kāṭhaka*, I-20-4. The bride shall do it. *Vārāha*, XIV-18; *Khādira*, I-3-22.

73. *Mānava*, I-11-10 to 12.

74. *Pāraskara*, I-6-1 & 2.

75. *Gobhila*, I-10-14.

76. *Agniveśa*, I-5-6; *Āśvalāyāna* I-5-9. According to some *sūtras*, the descendents of Jamadagni have to do this five times. Vide:—*Jaimini*, I-3.

77. *Kauṣītaki*, I-14; *Kauśika*, 76-17 & 18; *Āśvalāyana*, I-5-13.

78. *Vārāha*, XIV-14-22; *Gobhila*, II-2-9 & 10; *Āpastamba*, II-5-7 to 10; *Baudhāyana*, I-4-29 to 31; *Hiraṇyakeśin*, I-20-5 to 7; *Āśvalāyana*, I-5-13; A peculiar way of doing *aśmārohaṇa* is mentioned by *Gobhila* which makes the mother or brother take the bride step by step to do this. Vide:—II-2-3.

79. *Hiraṇyakeśin*, I-21-6.

80. *Vārāha*, XV-21. The *kṛttikā* stars also are to be shown, *Vaikhānasa* III-5. *Ātreya* (probably the moon) also is mentioned in this connection. Vide:—*Kāṭhaka* 25-45. See *Hiraṇyakeśin* I-22-13 where there is the specific mention of the moon.

81. Some *sūtras* prescribe this to be done in the bride's house, like *Gobhila*, *Jaimini* *Āśvalāyana*,, *Agniveśa*.

The birthday celebration usually called *abdapūrti* is treated under the name *Varṣavardhana* in most of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Nakṣatrahoma* in one *Gṛhyasūtra.*[82]

There are certain rites which are treated in the *Gṛhyasūtras* but which have practically gone out of practice. Among them, there is the *Kṣiprasuvana*[83] which is to be performed to effect a quick and safe delivery of the child. It is called by different names such as *Soṣyantīkarma,*[84] *Soṣyantīhoma*[85] and others. Similarly there is a rite called *Niṣkramaṇa*[86] which consists in taking the child outside the house and showing it the sun, moon and others.

Curiously enough, *karṇavedha,* which consists in piercing the earlobes of the child in order that they can have the ear-ornaments attached to them, is not included as a religious rite according to the *Gṛhyasūtras.* Only one *Gṛhyasūtra*[87] mentions it. Likewise, *Vidyārambha* or *Akṣarābhyāsa,*[88] though practised invariably in the fifth year of a boy, is not mentioned in any of the *Gṛhyasūtras.*

There is mention made of some rites which are peculiar in treatment and are practised exclusively by the adherents of certain recensions of the *Veda. Anavalobhana*[89] is a rite, according to Āśvalāyana, to be performed to a woman in the fourth month of her pregnancy. It is part of the *puṁsavana* rite and is called *Garbharakṣaṇa* in other *Gṛhyasūtras* of the *Ṛgveda.* The appearance of the teeth for a child is celebrated under the name *dantodgamana*[90] according to some *Gṛhyasūtras. Sthāgārālaṁkāra*[91] is the name given in one *Gṛhyasūtra* for a rite which is to be performed by women. The rite called *bandhyavihāra*[92] consists in placing the leaves of the *palāśa* tree in all directions invoking the blessings of the deities.

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82. It is also called as *varṣavardhana* in the *Vaikhānasa,* III-20 & 21; and as *nakṣatrahoma* in the *Agniveśa,* II-1. However, it must be noted that this word is not used in the body of the *sūtra.* It is mentioned in the table of contents.

83. *Āpastamba,* XIV-13-15; *Bhāradvāja,* I-22. This rite is referred to also as *kṣīprasavana,* an incorrect expression. *Hiraṇyakeśin,* II-2-8.

84. *Pāraskara,* I-15-1 & 2; *Khādira,* II-2-29 & 30.

85. *Gobhila,* II-7-13. This is also called as *soṣyantīsavana.* Vide:—*Kāṭhaka,* III-10-1 to 3.

86. This is also called as *niṣkramaṇikā.* Vide:—*Pāraskara,* I-17-5; as *ādityadarśana* and *candradarśana.* Vide:—*Kāṭhaka,* III-13 & 14; *Mānava,* I-19, as *Nirṇayana.* Vide:—*Kauśika* 58-18 and *upaniṣkramaṇa.* Vide:—*Agniveśa,* II-2-3; *Baudhāyana* II-2.

87. *Kauṣītaki,* I-20; cf. I-12-1 to 16. *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhyaśeṣa-sūtra.*

88. It is treated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇam* as quoted by Aparārka, p. 30.

89. Vide:—*Āśvalāyana,* I-11-1 & 2. It is a rtie sanctioned in the *Upaniṣads* according to this writer; *Baijāvāpa* quoted by Aparārka p. 25. This rite is also called *garbharakṣaṇa, Kauṣītaki,* I-21.

90. *Vārāha,* III-8-11.

91. Vide:—*Agniveśa,* I-7-1.

92. *Hiraṇyakeśi,* II-3-1 to 12. This consists in spreading the leaves of the *palāśa* tree in all directions. This act constitutes the home for the deities. The commentator Mātṛdatta remarks that the ball of rice is to be placed in a tree away from the village.

Most of the *Gṛhyasūtras* deal with the major kinds of the three *yajñas*, of which the *śrāvaṇī*, *Aṣṭakā*, *Śūlagava* and *Āgrayaṇa* are some of the important rites.[93] In greater detail are the *śrāddha* and funeral rites treated.

Matters, not originally intended to fall under the *gṛhya*-rites, but treated in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, are worship of the deity,[94] safeguards for the ministers,[95] trade details,[96] *Nārāyaṇabali*,[97] ascetics[98] and their way of life, worships of Vināyaka[99] and Saṣṭhīdevī,[100] house-building[101] and others.

Though *saṁnyāsa* is extolled in other *sūtras*, the *Gṛhyasūtras* strongly recommend married life. The worship of the sacred fire is to be continued till death. In the absence of the householder, the rites in the *gṛhya* fire are to be performed by his wife, daughter, son, pupil or brother.[102] The *sūtras* refer to the need for a long life for man and prescribe rites to gain this end.[103] Stress is laid on the need to practise a moral life marked by good behaviour.[104] References are found for eschatology,[105] modes of worship[106] and other aspects of life in which men find great interest.

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93. *Vaikhānasa, Kauśika, Baudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeśin, Mānava, Jaimini, Kauṣītaki, Pāraskara, Kāṭhaka, Āpastamba, and Āśvalāyana.*

94. *Vaikhānasa*, IV-10-12.

95. *Hiraṇyakeśin*, I-14.

96. ibid., I-15.

97. *Agniveśa*, III-11-4; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyaśeṣasūtra*, III, - 20 & 21.

98. *Agniveśa*, III-10-4; IV, — 16 & 17.

99. *Mānava*, II-14; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyaṣeṣasūtra*, III-10-1 to 10.

100. *Mānava*, II-13. cf. description of Ṣaṣhīdevī in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī—sūtikāgṛha* descripiton.

101. *Jaimini*, II-6; *Āśvalāyana*, II-7 to 10; *Āpastamba*, XVII-1 to 13.

102. *Āśvalāyana*, I-9-1; *Kauṣītaki*, III-10-35.

103. *Pāraskara*, I-16-17; *Mānava*, I-17-2.

104. *Āśvalāyana*, I-5-5; *Pāraskara*, II-7-18.

105. *Hiraṇyakeśin*, II-12-4; *Vaikhānasa*, VI-68-9.

106. Vide:—*Kāṭhaka*, XVII-1; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyaṣeṣasūtra* II—13 to 21 and III 1 to 15.

S. Bhaskara Rao

THE VEDIC METRE

In quite an external way, metre distinguishes poetry from prose. It is not just at the moment to state and establish that metre is closest to the essence of poetry. Suffice it to say that the value of metre has been recognized throughout the millennia in every clime. The ancient metre was uneven, and this fact has baffled the interpreter and defied his efforts to arrive at clear-cut principles regarding them.

The Vedic texts mention many Vedic metres. The *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* of Śaunaka has explained the theory of these metres in the 16th *paṭala.* The *Nidānasūtra* in ten *prapāṭhakas* tells us about the metre of the *Sāma Veda.* The *Vedāṅgachandas* of Piṅgalanāga which is the same as the *Chandaḥ-śāstra* gives us the earliest best exposition of the Vedic metres. Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramaṇī* presents a fine exposition on the *Ṛg*-Vedic metres analysing, classifying and summarizing all of them. Mādhava in his *Ṛgvedānu-kramaṇī* has given us the matter which has a similar treatment. Sāyana's *Bhāṣya* helps us on points of metres in no mean degree.

Max Muller stated the importance of the study of the Vedic metres in his *A History of Ancient Sauskrit Literature.* Oldenburg and Bloomfield have added their notes on the metres. Incorporating the work of the European scholars and with his own untiring labour, Prof. E. V. Arnold produced the monumental book *Vedic Metre.* The introduction consisting of Seventy six pages to the NS. edition of the *Chandaḥsūtra* is very useful. Dr. C. Kunhan Rāja published an original treatise on the subject, *Ṛk-chandasāṁ parāma-rśaḥ* in the *Sarūpabhāratī.* In the same volume, Prof. Vishvabandu has demonstrated the use of metre as evidence in the determining the *svara* of *uccarat.* Prof. H. D. Velankar has published a helpful introduction on the subject in his edition of *Jayadāman.* A few who had written on the Vedic literature such as Prof. V. S. Ghate, Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Prof. P. P. S. Sastri and K. L. V. Sastri have all given some information on the Vedic metre.

Coming to the metres employed in the *Vedas* we find that the prime basis of the Vedic metres is the syllable (*akṣara*). This may look strange. For if syllable can be the basis of metre, then all prose is indeed metre of a kind. What then is the essence of metre? The essence of metre is rhythm, the music of every man's heartbeat. But the ancient theorists did not tell us about it.

The second basis of the theory of metre is *pāda* or the verse. That the *pāda* of a Vedic metre is not a dogmatic quarter is a proof of its virility and independence. The inconstancy of the *pādas* provides an amount of freshness and relieving variety which a modern innovator ought to be proud of. The *pādas*, which provide for variety, are basically of two kinds, *Gāyatri*, *Anuṣṭubh* and *Triṣṭubhjagatī* although Piṅgala gives them as four. The *Gāyatrī-anuṣṭubh* line is of 8 letters and the *Triṣṭubh-jagatī* variety of 11 or 12. The *Virāja* is a rare modification of the *Triṣṭubh-jagatī* lines, the *Jagatī* has the more natural development as a regular trimetre of three equal parts over the diametre *Gāyatrī* of two equal parts. The *Triṣṭubh* is not a crude and imperfect representation of the *Jagatī* but is a marvellous refinement over *Jagatī* with three letters at the break and a wonderful balance between the first half and the second half. This is the reason why Piṅgala states the *Jagatī* line first and then comes to define *Triṣṭubh*. It is the last defined line in Piṅgala's text and the most prominent line the Vedic metres.

And regarding *pāda* we encounter a fresh difficulty. Actually in the texts, the *pādas* do not answer to the definition. Hence *sandhis* have to be discarded in cases like *brahmaitviti—brahma etu iti* and in *nova* as *no ava;* the conjunct letters have to be split as in *somyam* as *somi am; dyumad* as *di umad; svaḥ* as *su ah; indra* as *indara* and *tvām* as *tu ām*, and an imaginary syllable is to be restored as in the genitive plurals. From these considerations, it is seen that the Vedic lines were composed before *sandhis* came into practice and became a rule and when there were pronunciational peculiarities which disappeared later on.

A further basis that is worth notice here is the caesura. This is not stated at all, but is frequently observed in the metrical composition of the line, and in this lies a part of the secret music of the verse.

There is a peculiarity in the Vedic metre, namely, during the recitation of a hymn the distinctness of the line or the stanza is rarely taken note of. There may be a way of reciting with a line-consciousness and the stanza-consciousness. As at present, the line and the stanza are lost sight of in recitation.

There are seven fundamental stanzas *Gāyatrī*, *Uṣṇik*, *Anuṣṭubh*, *Paṅkti*, *Bṛhatī*, *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī*, which have seven modifications each, as *Daivī*, *Āsurī*, *Prājāpatyā*, *Yājuṣī*, *Sāmnī*, *Ārcī*, and *Brāhmī*. The *Ārcī* is the usual type of each of them. Then there are variants to the usual type. The *Gāyatrī* may be 3—8 or 4—6. Sometimes it may be 6, 7, 8 or 6, 8, 7 or 8, 7, 6 or again 9, 9, 6, under the names *Pādanicṛt*, *Atipādanicṛt*, *Nāgī*, *Vārāhī*, *Vardhamānā*, *Pratiṣṭhā*, etc. The *Dvipād-virāṭ* (12, 8) and *Tripād-virāṭ* (11, 11, 11) are classed as modifications of *Gāyatrī* as they are treated in the *Gāyatryadhikāra*. *Uṣṇik* or *Paroṣṇik* (8, 8, 12) has variants like *Kakubh*, (8, 12, 8) and *Pura uṣṇik* (12, 8, 8), *Uṣṇik* may even be 4×7. *Anuṣṭubh* (4×8) has variants like 8, 12, 12, or 12, 8, 12 or 12, 12, 8. *Bṛhatī* (12, 8, 8, 8) which the

Ṛk-prātiśākhya defines अष्टाक्षरास्त्रयो पादास्तृतीयो द्वादशाक्षरः (8, 8, 12, 8) and which Piṅgala calls as *Pathyābṛhatī* has variants like *Nyaṅkusāriṇī* (8, 12, 8, 8) and *Upariṣṭā-bṛhatī* (8, 8, 8, 12). There are other forms also with 4×9 or 10, 10, 8, 8. *Śato-bṛhatī* (12, 8, 12, 8) is treated as 3×12 (12, 8, 12, 8) the stanza is designated as *Śataḥ-paṅkti* by Piṅgala. Sāyaṇa gives *Viṣṭāra-bṛhatī* (8, 10, 10, 8). The *Bṛhatī-śato-bṛhatī* is called *Pragāthā* by Kātyāyana and is designed by Arnold as strophe.

Virāj is 10, 10, 10, 10. It is not the same as *Paṅkti*. In this connection it is well to note that the theorists prescribe varying line analysis to the same metre. That must be the reason why Sāyaṇa in his *Bhāṣyabhūmikā* says how six *Gāyatrī* stanzas may be taken as three *Jagatīs*. Dr. Kunhan Raja says:

अनन्तरं मया पङ्क्तिछन्दोऽप्यत्र निरूप्यते ।
अस्मिन् भवन्त्यक्षराणि चत्वारिंशत्समष्टितः ॥
पादैश्चतुर्भिस्संयुक्तं विराट्छन्दो दशाक्षरः ।
प्रायेण त्रैष्टुभे सूक्ते दृश्यते न स्वतन्त्रतः ॥
एकाक्षरन्यूनपादस्त्रैष्टुभो वा भवेदयम् ।

The *Paṅkti* is 12, 12, 8, 8, with variants such as *Śataḥ-paṅkti* and others like 8, 12, 8, 12; 8, 8, 12, 12 and 12, 8, 8, 12, and *Pathyā-paṅkti* as 5×8. There are miniature *Paṅktis* called *Akṣarapaṅkti* (4×5), *Dvipād-akṣarapaṅkti* (2×5) and *Padapaṅkti* (5×5 or 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, etc.).

Having defined the *Jagatī* line as of 12 letters Dr. Kunhan Raja shifts his ground by defining *Jagatī* as 6×8. This indeed is proof of the flexibility of the metres. We have *Jyotiṣmatī* with all or 12 in the first line followed by an *Anuṣtubh*. In accordance with the place of this *Triṣṭubh-jagatī* line we have *Madhye-jyoti* and *Upariṣṭāj-jyoti*. This easy interchangeability of the *Triṣṭubh* line to *Jagatī* and vice-versa made Dr. Kunhan Raja remark पादानां त्रैष्टुभत्वं च जागतत्वं च कुत्रचित् ।

A line of 5 letters in a metre gives it the name *Saṅkumati* and such a line of six letters gives it the name *Kakummatī*. There is a *Pipīlikāmadhyā* with a very short middle line of 3, 4 or 5 letters and *Yavamadhyā* of the opposite kind. A metre short of one letter is *Nicṛt* and with an extra letter is *Bhūrik*. A metre short of two letters is *Virāṭ*, and with two extra letters is *Svarāṭ*. When there is doubt whether a metre is two letters short of *Uṣṇik* or is two letters in excess of *Gāyatrī*, we have to take the clue from the first line.

These seven fundamental metres have a logical sequence, inasmuch as every succeeding metre has four letters more than its predecessor. This principle is carried further. They have seven deities, Agni, Savitā, Soma, Bṛhaspati, Mitrāvaruṇau, Indra and Viśvedevāḥ; seven *svaras*, *sa*, *ri*, *ga*, *ma*,

pa, *dha* and *ni;* seven colours, white (*sita*), variegated or spotted (*sāraṅga*), tawny (*piśaṅga*), black (*kṛṣṇa*), blue (*nīla*), red (*lohita*) and yellowish-red (*gaura*) and seven *gotras:* Agniveśya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Aṅgīrasa, Bhārgava, Kauśika and Vaśiṣṭha. It will be meaningful to explain that such and such a sage praised such and such a deity with such and such a metre, at such a pitch, the God being imagined to be of that colour.

There is a further class of seven metres called *Aticchandāṁsi*, namely *Ati-jagatī* (52), *Śakvarī* (56), *Ati-śakvarī* (60), *Aṣṭi* (64), *Atyaṣṭi* (68), *Dhṛti* (72) and *Ati-dhṛti* (76). These fourteen metres occur in the *Ṛg-Veda.*

According to Kātyāyana, the number of hymns in the *Gāyatṛī* are 2467, in the *Uṣṇik* 341, *Anuṣṭubh* 855, *Bṛhatī* 181, *Paṅkti* 312, *Triṣṭubh* 4253, *Jagatī* 1358. The hymns which have single words (*ekapadā*) are 6 and two words (*dvipadā*) 17 and nearly 300 hymns are in *Aticchandas.*

Seven more metres of the *Kṛti* variety are found in the *Yajur-Veda* *Kṛti* (80), *Prakṛti* (84), *Ākṛti* (88), *Vikṛti* (92), *Saṁkṛti* (96), *Abhikṛti* (100) and *Utkṛti* (104). There are metres like *Mā*, *Pramā*, etc., mentioned in the *Prātiśākhyas* and also metres such as *Uktā* (4 letters) *Atyuktā* (8), *Madhyā* (12), *Pratiṣṭhā* (16) and *Supratiṣṭhā* (20).

Searching for rhythm, the modern researchers rejected the letters as the basis and sought some other standard.

ऋक्छन्दसां विभागोऽयमक्षरैश्चतुरुत्तरैः ।
न स्वीकार्यो विभागाय मानमन्यदपेक्ष्यते ।।

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

Prof. Arnold patiently and watchfully plodded through the *Ṛg-Veda* and discovered a way of setting forth the music of the majority of the lines. He called *Gāyatrī-anuṣṭubh* a diametre dividing it into two halves. The first half of four letters is called as the opening and the second half as cadence.

In the second and fourth lines of *Anuṣṭubh* is observed a high frequency of *laga-laga* cadence. This cadence was naturally there even in the *Gāyatrī* second line. So the music of the cadence was caught to some degree. Although there is no perceptible caesura in the eight-letter line, he correctly judged the opening and the cadence. The same analysis has been extended by him to the *Triṣṭubh-jagatī* line also with the opening (4), the weak (4 or 3) and the cadence (4). Here in the cadence, he found *gala-gaga* as the highly frequent rhythm. The *laga-laga* rhythm he named as the *Iambic* and the *gala-gaga* as *Cretic.* He also observed that the first letter of the opening was indifferent whereas the other letters of the opening tended to be long. These are wonderfully true observations that recapture the rhythm of the metres for us. There is the *Trodaic* metre in *Glitisamānī* and *Iambic* in *Gliti-pramāṇī.* For a moment that sound may be novel, but if used too often

it becomes monotonous rhythm. One shall not expect these rhythms of cadences in every stanza for though more frequent they are not invariable traits.

These clues to the rhythms and to the characteristics of the opening are afforded by the Classical Sanskrit Literature. श्लोके षष्ठं गुरु ज्ञेयं द्विचतुः पादयोः सप्तमं ह्रस्वम् । This is the clue to the observation of *laga-laga* cadence of the *Gāyatrī-anuṣṭubh* line. The *gala-gaga* cadence of the *Triṣṭubh*, the break and the opening with an indifferent *gala-gaga* first letter and the others tending to be long are all suggested by Kālidāsa, the perfect student of the Vedic metre of ancient times.

अमी वेदिं परितः क्लृप्तधिष्ण्याः
समिद्वन्तः प्रान्तसंस्तीर्णदर्भाः ।
अपघ्नन्तो दुरितं हव्यगन्धै-
र्वैतानास्त्वां वह्नयः पावयन्तु ॥

Abhijñānaśākuntalam IV. 7

Not only are all the above traits in it but there is also a well defined break in lines 1 and 3, and 2 and 4. This shows how a keen student of metres can display clever regularity beneath the seeming irregularity.

Arnold's classification into four historical periods (1) Bardic (VI & VII *maṇḍalas*) (2) normal period (III, IV & IX) (3) Arctic period (many of the first and a few of the tenth *maṇḍalas*) and (4) popular period (hymns resembling the *Atharvan* and especially those of tenth *maṇḍala*), deserves careful examination.

The evolution of the *Śloka* is from *Gāyatrī* through the *Anuṣṭubh*, and *Upajāti* from the *Triṣṭubh-jagatī*. Probably the name is an off-shoot of the *Upajagatī* and the *Vṛttaratnākara* deals with all classical metres within the scope of the letter count of the Vedic originals.

D. Arka Somayaji

ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCES IN THE VEDAS

It is a well-known fact that the *Vedas* especially the *Yajurveda*, abound in astronomical references. We find that the prescribed ritualistic conduct of life was closely bound up with the astronomical phenomena. That is why astronomy came to be declared as the chief of the *Vedāṅgas*, in fact, the 'Eyes' of the *Veda Puruṣa*. The *Sandhyā-Vandana*, which is acclaimed as the basis of all rituals, is prescribed to be performed at the three *sandhyas* of the day, the twilights and the mid-day. The very *Gāyatrī*, which is hailed as the core of all the *mantras* or Vedic hymns, is an invocation to the sun. The full-moon and the new-moon called for *iṣṭis*, the first of the *śrauta* rituals. The movement of the sun and the moon in the background of stars was closely studied. The zodiac was divided into 27 stars beginning with *Kṛttikā*. The enumeration of the stars from *Kṛttikā* gave Tilak[1] a clue to the establishment of the antiquity of the *Vedas*, for, it gave the hint that the vernal equinoctial point was there in *Kṛttikā* in those times. Since the present position of the vernal equinox and its annual rate of motion are known, it is an easy calculation to say that the *Yajurveda* is about $75 \times 72 = 5400$ years old. This is not a mere surmise but must be a hard fact, for we have Vedic statements[2] which mean that *Kṛttikās* do not deflect from the east-point. This could be so according to astronomy if and only if the vernal equinox coincided with the *Kṛttikās*. The same is borne out by the ancient *śloka:* श्रवणस्योदये प्राची कृत्तिकायास्तथोदये । चित्रास्वात्यन्तरे प्राची न प्राची चन्द्रसूर्ययोः । (That is the east where the stars *Kṛttikā* and *Śravanā* rise and the mid-point, of *Citrā* and *Svāṭī* as well. In fact, any celestial body rises in the east if it be on the equator. For the above stars to rise in the east, they must have been situated on the equator in those times. In particular, the *Kṛttikās* were situated in the vernal equinox which is the point of intersection of the ecliptic and the equator.

Stars were classified into two kinds, the *Deva-nakṣatras* and the *Yama-nakṣatras*.[3] Just as we now say that the star with which the moon comes into conjunction is the star that presides over the day, in a similar manner the *Veda* says that the star which rises heliacally is the star that presides

1 B. G. Tilak: The Orion pp. 32-60.

2 एता ह् वै प्राच्यै दिशो नच्यवन्ते । शतपथ II. 1. 2. 3

3 ओं तानि वा एतानि यमनक्षत्राणि यान्येव देवनक्षत्राणि तेषु कुर्वीत यत्कारी स्यात् । पुण्याह् एव कुरुते ।

over the day[4]. Stars like *Anūrādhā* and *Śraviṣṭhā* are named as *Deva-nakṣatras*, whereas *Bharaṇī*, *Āśleṣa* etc., are given as *Yama-nakṣatras.* Astrology had its roots in the Vedic literature. A statement like नामावास्यायां च पौर्णमास्यां च स्त्रियमुपेयात् । यदुपेयात् निरिन्द्रियः स्यात् made by the *Veda* is indeed highly significant.

The names of the months enumerated in the *Vedas* were *Madhu*, *Mādhava*, etc. They are evidently tropical solar and not lunar, for it is said in the *Yajurveda*[5]. Later on in classical times when Amarasiṁha came to write his lexicon, he interpreted the tropical months by mistake as corresponding to the luni-solar months *Caitra*, etc.[6] The definition of the luni-solar months is astronomically interesting: चित्रायुक्ता पौर्णमासी चैत्री । चैत्री अस्मिन् विद्यत इति चैत्रम् । This definition naturally raises the question in our minds as to how every *Caitra* has its full-moon when the moon is in *Citrā.* Since a lunation has a length equal to 29.53 days, when twelve lunations elapse, the full-moon occurs about 11° behind *Citra.* Again after the lapse of 12 more lunations, it occurs when the moon is about 22° behind *Citrā*, *i.e.*, in the beginning of *Hasta.* But soon after, intercalation of an *adhika-māsa* takes place and the full-moon is restored to *Citrā.* Hence the months *Caitra*, *Vaiśākha*, etc., do not lose their etymological significance even in course of time. The phenomenon of the procession of the equinoxes does not effect this either; for the position of the equinoxes does not come into the picture in this context. There is, however, one important point of observation here. The lunar reckoning and the sidereal solar reckoning are wedded together by the process of intercalation but since the seasons regulated by the tropical solar year, in the long run the months cease to accord with the seasons. Thus the month *Caitra*, which is to mark the beginning of the year in the luni-solar reckoning ceases to inaugurate the *Vasanta.* In other words, *Vasanta* begins even earlier than the *Caitra.* In fact, on account of the phenomenon of the procession of the equinoxes, our luni-solar reckoning has already been belated by about 20 days. If this state of the *pañcāṅga*-computation continues for some time, our *pañcāṇgam* gets out of year with the seasons so much so we shall have to perform the so-called *saṁvatsarādi* festival without the neem flower or the mango. Our traditional chronologists have to take a serious note of this fact. The defect should be rectified by wedding the lunar reckoning not to the sidereal solar but to the tropical solar reckoning. The process of intercalation which was thus designed to wed the lunar reckoning to the solar brought in its train the phenomenon of the so-called *kṣaya-māsa* or the *aṁhaspati-māsa.* The occurence of the words *saṁsarpa* and *aṁhaspati* in the *Yajurveda* indicates that the system of chrono-

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4 यत्पुण्यं नक्षत्रं तत् बट् कुर्वीतापन्युषं यदा वै सूयं उदेति अथ नक्षत्रं नैति यावति तत्र सूर्यो गच्छेत् यत्र जघन्यं पश्येत् तावति कुर्वीत यत्कारी स्यात् । पुण्याह एव कुरुते ।

5 मधुश्च माधवश्च । शतपथ VI .3. 1, 14

6 स्याच्चैत्रे चैत्रिको मधुः । A. K.

logy reached a mathematical accuracy even in those remote days in India. The convention of intercalation was असंक्रान्तिमासोऽधिमासः. This means that it was the lunar month which does not contain a *saṁkrānti*, that is to say, the month in which the Sun does not leave one zodiacal sign into another should be treated as an *adhikamāsa*, because it is an indication that the lunar reckoning has overtaken the solar by one month. But this convention brought in its train a complication, for, it may so happen that there are two *saṁkrāntis* in one *cāndramāsa*. This happens only in one of the three months *Kārtika*, *Mārgaśirṣa* or *Pauṣa*, for these months happen to be a trifle longer than the solar months and occasionally contain an entire solar month within the preceding and succeeding new moons. Under such circumstances, that lunar month is called a *kṣaya-māsa* or a month that is lost.[7] When this *kṣaya-māsa* occurs, it is preceeded and followed by an *adhika-māsa* not necessarily just before or just after but even with a slight interval. Thus virtually the intercalation of the *adhika-māsa* is not effected in as much as two months are gained and one month is lost so that in toto the *adhikamāsa* is there as it ought to be. The preceding *adhika-māsa* goes by the name the *saṁsarpa-māsa* where as the *kṣaya-māsa* is termed *aṁhaspati*.

In the context of the prescription of an appropriate and auspicious moment for the inception of *Saṁvatsara* sacrifice, the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda* first prescribes[8] *Ekāṣṭakā*, saying that it is the *patnī* of *Saṁvatsara;* then rules it out and prescribes *Phalgunī*, again rules this out and finally prescribes *Caitrī*. There is evidently an astronomical significance in this namely, that *Ekāṣṭakā*, *Phalgunī* and *Caitrī* are respectively considered as the inauguration of the new year each in its own way. While ruling out *Phalgunī*, objection is raised that the equinoctial day falls within the thick of the rainy season: यत् साम्मेघ्ये विषूवान् सम्पद्यते । This indicates that the vernal equinox, which occurred about the beginning of the year, occasionally coincided with *Caitrī* when there was an intercalation prior to it, whereas it often coincided with *Phalgunī* when intercalation came posterior. The vernal equinox went as far back as *Ekāṣṭakā* so that between *Ekāṣṭakā* and *Caitrī*, the vernal equinox fluctuated. This gives a justification for calling the three namely *Ekāṣṭakā*, *Phalgunī* and *Caitrī* also as the *mukha* of the *saṁvatsara*. The very word *viṣuvān* indicates that the phenomenon of the equinoctial day was carefully noted and calculated.

The apparent diurnal rotation of the stars about the polar axis on account of the earth's rotation about her axis is alluded to in a Vedic hymn.[9] The pole star is spoken of as *medhi*, which means the pole to which cattle

7 The previous month from this has been a *kṣayamāsa* and as a point of information it may be mentioned that the astronomer Gaṇeśa-daivajña predicted this as early as three hundred years ago. Vide:—Śiromaṇi-pracasa.

8 संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमाणा एकाष्टकायां दीक्षेरन् ।

9 ध्रुवक्षितिर्ध्रुवयोनिर्ध्रुवमसि । शतपथ VII. 2. 1. 14

are tied. What a beautiful simile to signify the diurnal rotation of the starry skies about the pole! Bearing this in mind, Āryabhaṭa says: मेधीभूत्वा स्वमध्यस्य

The new moon (*amāvāsyā*) is mentioned of two kinds in the Vedic chronology, *sinīvālī* and *kuhūr-amāvāsyā*. According to Amarasiṁha,[10] that day on which the waning crescent of the moon is visible (चतुर्दशीविद्धा अमावास्या) is known as *sinīvālī* whereas that day on which the crescent is not visible (प्रतिपद्विद्धा अमावास्या) is known as *kuhūr amāvāsyā*. The ritual named *Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña* is prescribed to be performed on the *kuhūr-amāvāsyā*

अमावास्यायां यदहः चन्द्रमसं न पश्यन्ति तदहः पिण्डपितृयज्ञं कुरुते ।

The institution of this ritual therefore required an accurate calculation of the phase of the moon so that we note that the computation of *tithis* was done to a great precision even in those remote days.

In the context of the construction of the sacrificial altar (*yajña-vedi*), Kātyāyāna in his *śulva-sūtra* explains as to how the east-west line is to be drawn: समे शङ्कुं निखाय शङ्कुसम्मितया रज्ज्वा मण्डलं परिलिख्य यत्र रेखयोः शङ्कु । अग्रच्छाया निपतति तत्र शङ्कू निहन्ति स प्राची ।

'Draw a circle in a horizontal plane with *śaṅku* or gnomon in the centre and with a radius equal to *śaṅku* in length. Mark the points on the circle where the sun's shadow equals the radius in the forenoon and the after-noon. The join of these points is the east-westline'. In this procedure the sun's motion in declination in between the two observations is ignored, for the sun will not have moved even about 1/20th of a degree in declination in the intervening interval. To make amends for this, later astronomers gave a correction and Bhāskara's formula in this context surprises us with the depth of the ancient genius. His formula runs as follows:

वृत्तेऽम्भः सुसमीकृतक्षितिगते केन्द्रस्थशङ्कोः क्रमात्
भाग्रं यत्र विशत्यपैति च यतस्तत्रापरैन्द्र्यौ दिशौ ।
तत्कालापमजीवयोस्तु विवराद्भाकर्णमित्याहता-
ल्लम्बज्याप्तामिताङ्गुलैरयनदिश्यैन्द्रीस्फुटाचालिता ।।

Siddhāntaśiromaṇi–Tripraśnedhikāra *Sl.* 8

10 सा दृष्टेन्दुः सिनीवाली । Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana I. 4. 8

Shift the East point obtained in the above process by an arc (fig. i) equal to $\frac{K \Delta \text{ Sin } \delta}{\text{Cos } \varnothing}$ where K is *chāyākarṇa*, δ the declination of the sun and $\varnothing$ the latitude of the place. This formula may be proved as follows: Let *gn* be the gnomon or *śaṅku*, let Z be the zenith-distance of the sun whent he gnomon's shadow equals the radius of the circle; let K be *chayākarṇa* as it is called where *gs* is the shadow. Hence $gs = K \sin z$.

g S

Fig. i.

Let *gm* ·e the east, westline in (fig. ii)

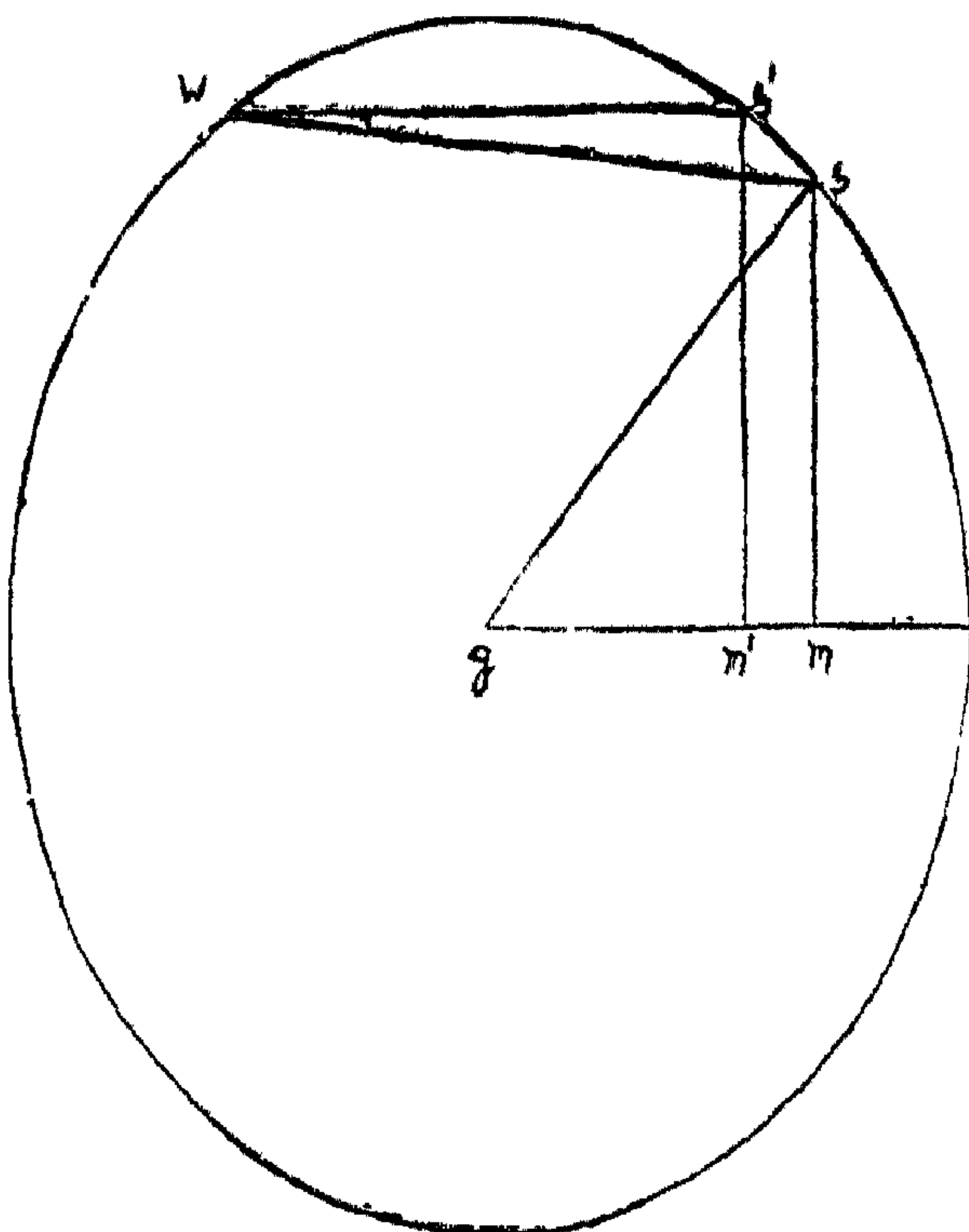


Fig. ii

The perpendicular *Sm* is called *bhuja* of the shadow *gs*, let *a* be the Hindu *Azimuth* measured from the east point along the horizon. Then $Sm = K \sin z \sin a$. If W be the point where the shadow again equals the radius in the afternoon, Kātyāyana asks us to join *SW* to get the rough east-west line. But this is in fact deflected from its true position on account of the sun's motion in declination. Hence if the correct east-west line is WS^1, S^1M^1 is the true *bhuja*.

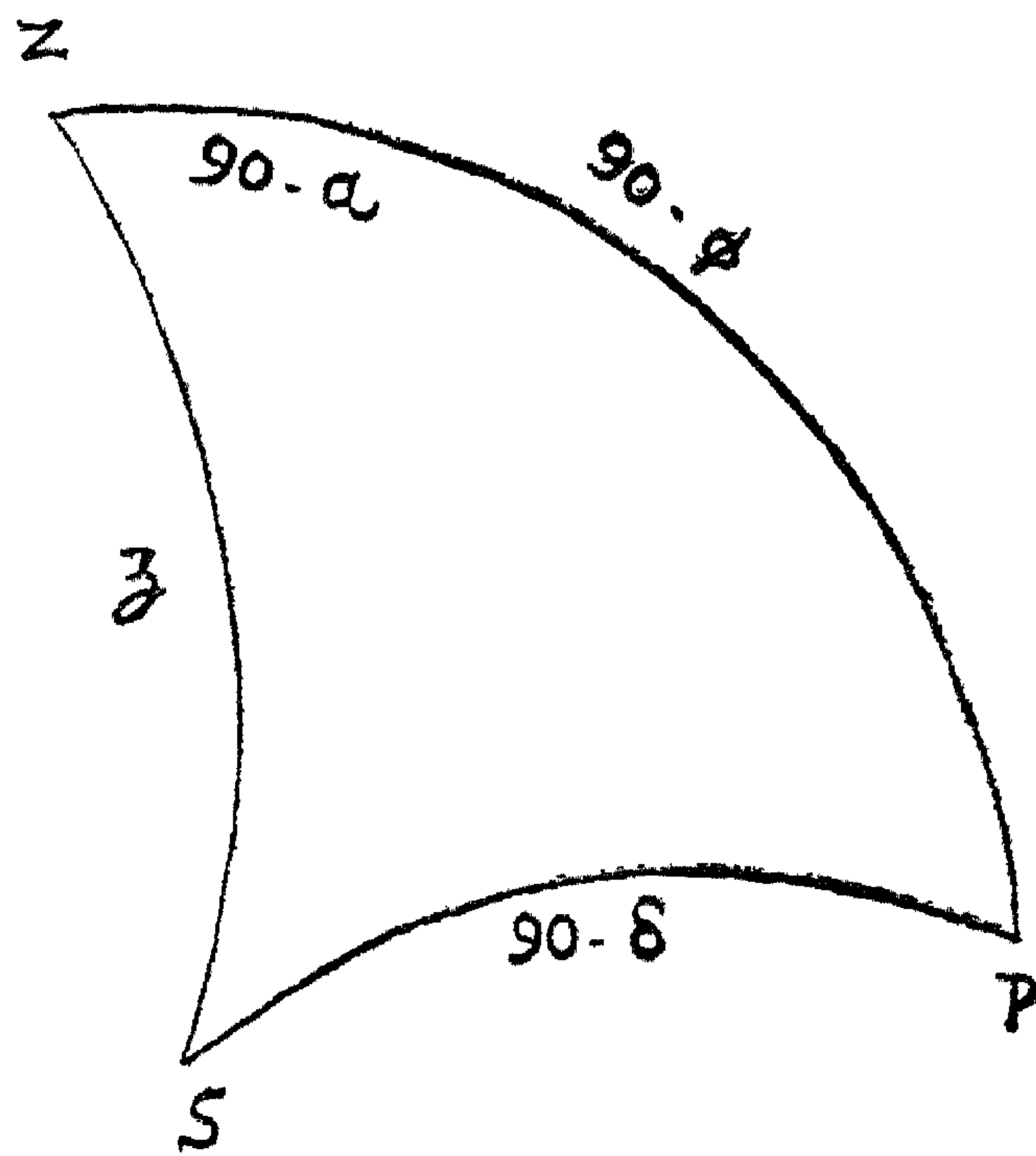


Fig. iii.

The variation in the *bhuja* $K \sin z \sin a$ is therefore to be sought from the spherical triangle *PZS* (fig. iii) where *P* is the celestial pole, *Z* the zenith, *S* the sun, we have from spherical trigonometry $\sin \delta = \cos z \sin \varnothing + \sin z \cos \varnothing \sin a$. Since $\varnothing$ is constant and *Z* is the same at both the observations differentiating we have $\Delta (\sin \delta) = \Delta (\sin z \cos \varnothing \sin a) = \sin z \cos \varnothing \; \Delta (\sin a)$. Multiplying by *K* the *chāyākarṇa*

$$K \Delta (\sin \delta) = \cos \varnothing \; \Delta (K \sin z \sin a)$$

$$\therefore \Delta (K \sin z \sin a) = \frac{K \Delta (\sin \delta)}{\cos \varnothing}$$

i.e., the variation in *bhuja* is as given by Bhāskara. This rectifies the east-west line. See what an accuracy was attained in the computation of intricate astronomical matters at the hands of the ancient Hindu astronomers!

P. Nagaraja Rao

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDAS

The *Vedas* represent the record of the direct vision of the inspired sages and seers of India, arising from their spiritual experience. The seers are described as those who saw in the flashes of their intuition the hymns (*mantra-draṣṭṛ*). The traditional view about the *Veda* affirms its eternity and its self-existent nature. It is held that the import of the *Vedas*, cannot be known by any other instruments of knowledge such as perception, inference, analogy, implication etc. Nor is there any possibility of its coming into conflict with other forms of experience obtained through perception and inference, for, by hypothesis it refers only to matters beyond this life and is therefore, empirically unverifiable. It is possible, that though the Vedic truths, while not contradicting common experience may still exhibit discrepancies in their own teaching, which are removed by the elaborate application of the determinative marks of purport (*tātparya-liṅgas*) and rules of interpretation laid down in detail in the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*.

Śaṅkara treats the *saṁhitā* portion of the *Vedas* as having secondary importance while the upaniṣadic portion is of major significance. Rāmānuja and Mādhva regard the entire *Veda* as authoritative. They do not regard the *saṁhitā* portion as secondary and as only dealing with *karma* and *devatās*. They do not agree to the view that it is devoid of any philosophical content. They do not admit that there is any break in the upaniṣadic thought, from the earlier portions.

The present paper is confined to the examination of the philosophical ideas contained in the *samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*. There is a popular and attractive interpretation of the *Veda* as a form of pure naturalism. The human being sought the favour of several deities, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni etc., for progress, prosperity and defence. Nature was conceived as being presided over by several powers. Each of them was personalised. Each God had his days and passed his power on to others. Men sought to please the deities and feared them. The world of the *Vedas* is described by some as a form of wild polytheism and crude naturalism, while others described it as a form of henotheism. Yet others saw in it the form of arrested anthropomorphism.

As a contrast to these views, it is possible to note a steady development of a philosophical system in the *Vedas*. One such attempt is the monistic view. If we adopt this line of interpretation, we see different stages and a development of them in the *Vedas*. In all we have six different stages. The first stage discloses the concepts of different deities presented after the human

model. Each is in charge of a particular phenomenon of Nature, *e.g.*, Agni, Varuṇa and Indra. The second stage is the conception of virāṭ-puruṣa described in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. He has thousand heads, feet, hands, etc. He is represented as the creator of all. The third way in which the ultimate reality is described is based on the principle of immanence. This is not pantheism, for God is not exhausted in the equation to the world. He is transcendent also. God minus the world is still God and not zero. It is *panen-theos*. It is God in all and not all in God. The fourth describes the deities as abstract divinities, as protector, creator etc. In the fifth, the conception of the ultimate reality is equated with a moral principle that is inviolate. The sixth stage is based on the celebrated *Nāsadīya-sūkta*,[1] which dimly anticipates the central conception of the Absolute or Brahman of *Advaita-Vedānta*. Deussen writes in appreciation of this hymn as follows, "that is possibly the most admirable bit of philosophy of old times. Here we get the first flash of the conception of an indeterminate absolute underlying all existence, premial one from which everything originates, which cannot be described either as existent or non-existent. Here we are in the threshold of the monism of Śaṅkara. By the word *tad ekam*, this hymn indicates the unitary character of the ultimate principle. The problem of causality and the nature of causality are tackled here. The opposites being and non-being, death and life, good and evil are viewed as developing within and, hence are reconcilable in the fundamental principle. Creation is not attributed here to any external agency. It is highly impersonal and there is no theistic colour here."

There is no doubt that in the Vedic pantheon there are many gods, *e.g.*, Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Mitra etc. This does not mean that the Vedic philosophy represents a crude naturalism or a wild polytheism. The different gods are all the manifestations of one Reality. The *Vedas* declare, "The truth is one, sages call it by various names. Though the *Vedas* declare reality as one, they immediately add in a spirit of toleration, 'it is called by various names." It is also stated 'The one that exists is conceived in many ways, the one glory shines in many forms.' The Vedic seers are thus known to have had a united vision. This is one way of seeking unity in the message of the *Vedas*.

The speculation of the Vedic seers does not admit that an accidentalism governs the process of the world, nor is it a kind of materialism or nationalism. They definitely seek a rule of law that not only governs the universe, but is also reflected in the life of man. There is at bottom a search after the explanation of observed facts implying a belief that every event has a cause.

The rule of law is the conception of *ṛta*. This finds a prominent place in the *mantras*. This word originally meant uniformity of nature or alternation of day and night, while in the *mantras* it not only bears this

1. Ṛg-veda X-12-9.

significance, but also the additional one of " moral order." Man is regarded as an aspect and expression of *ṛta*, has within him a reflection of it. This is the basis of the *karma* doctrine. Adolf Kaegi[2] writes, " the external ordinances of the rulers of the world were as inviolable in mental and moral matters as in the realm of nature." That human conduct illustrates order is indeed an important conception that paved the way for the furtherance of the ethical thought and the affirmation and the freedom of human will.

The Vedic seers were aware of the distinction between the soul and the body. They spoke of the combination as man. They were aware of the animal nature of man. They said " Man is a beast " (*paśu*) more specifically a biped (*dvipād*). He is praised as the king of the beasts and as the first of the beasts. The material output of man is the body. In the *Yajurveda* we have a long list of the bodily organs described.

Life is indicated in the Vedic literature by two terms *asu*, an obstract vital principle and *prāṇa*, an actual vital process. Men are described as possessors of *asu*. It is responsible for rising us up, enlivening us, and lighting up our den of darkness. The *asu* is distinct from body. The passages in the *Veda* indicate the supremacy of man, and connect him with nature and Gods.

A study of the *Vedas* discloses that men sang the praise of a number of Vedic Gods like Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Viśvadevāḥ, Aditī, the neuter *tad ekam*. They asked for wealth, progressing strength of limb, length of life etc.

Indra is glorified in a number of hymns and his favourite *soma* drink is offered to him. Indra is described as follows[3] " without whom men do not conquer, when they, when fighting, call on for help; who has been match for everyone who moves the immovable; he O! men, is Indra."

Varuṇa is another major god. He is the guardian of the moral and physical order. He was entrusted with the function of keeping the law. He is described as *ṛtasya gopā*. Men prayed to Varuṇa for forgiveness of their sins. A typical prayer is " I ask O Varuṇa, wishing to know this my sin; I go to ask the wise, the sages all tell me the same; Varuṇa it is who is angry with thee. Was it for an old sin, O Varuṇa, that thou wishest to destroy thy friends who always praise thee? Tell me thou, unconquerable Lord, and I will quickly turn to Thee for praise, freed from sins. Absolve us from the sins of the fathers, and from those which we have committed with our own bodies. It is not in our doing, Varuṇa!, it was slip, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness."

2. Adolf Kaegi: The Rigveda p. 18.
3. Ṛg-veda II-12-9. Translation by A. A. Macdonell.

Agni is praised as intelligence. " O Agni, the worship and the sacrifice thou encompassed on every side, that same goes to the Gods. May Agni the invoker of wise intelligence, the true of the most brilliant fame, the God, come with Gods."

The theistic interpreters have found the hierarchy of deities headed by Viṣṇu. They look upon him as the ultimate reality. We find enough room in the *Vedas* to sustain a full-flooded theism and also the dim hints for an absolutism.

Among the ancient *ācāryas*, Srī Mādhva was the first to formulate an adhyatmic interpretation of the *Vedas* in his *Ṛg-bhāṣya* of forty *sūktas*. He tries to interpret all the terms as having their plenary significance in respect of Nārāyaṇa. He uses etymology to great purpose. He effects a harmonization of all the texts and does not relegate the *mantra* portions to the region of *karmakāṇḍa* as some do. He finds inviolable principles of interpretation to demonstrate the running unity among the passages of the Vedic *mantras.* This can be called the *ārṣa* tradition of Vedic interpretation. It has esoteric significance.

Among the moderns, Sri Aurobindo stands out as the unique interpreter of the *Vedas*. He is of opinion that the *Vedas* are replete with the suggestion of secret doctrines and mystic philosophy. He looks upon the Gods of the hymns as symbols of psychological functions. For example, Surya signifies intelligence, Agni will, and Soma feeling. The *Veda* is to him a mystery religion corresponding to the *Orphic* and *Elensian* creeds of ancient Greece. Sri Aurobindo laments that we have lost the original secret of the *Vedas.* He has recaptured it for us in his interpretations.

The *Vedas* has meant all things to Hindu. In the words of Manu 'it is the root of all *dharma*.' It is of great interest to note that the Vedic civilization was not a lopsided one. Its philosophic thought and ideals of life are neither other-worldly nor merely materialistic. It discloses a type of theocentric humanism which is at once spiritual and ethical.

The qualities of life that make for *yoga* (obtaining what we wish for) and *kṣema* (preserving what we have achieved) which is collectively called progress, are stressed. Unity and integration with a view to secure a union of purposes is upheld. What is asked for is not an unanimity, but a colourful unity of interests. The celebrated hymn calls for unity of men and their goals to secure world welfare and happiness for all.

4. Ṛg-veda VIII-8-49.

Brinda Varadarajan

MUSIC IN THE SĀMA VEDA

THE history of sacred music goes back to the hoary Vedic ages when music must have begun. The *Sāman*, with innumerable treatises and texts extol, has its own metrical system, its rules for chanting and singing.

The *ṛṣis* of the first ages are said to have 'heard' the *Veda*. The primordial sound *Om* is the divine word through which, according to the *Vedas* and the Hebrew *Genesis*, all things have been made. 'Revelation' being a work of the verb, as creation itself, is actually a hearing for him who receives it.

'All things,' Dante says, 'are arranged in a certain order, and this order constitutes the form by which the Universe resembles God.'

If sounds—or certain pleasant combinations of them evoke in us emotions, pictures of beings, landscapes, etc., it is because there must be some similarity between the different aspects of the universe, which music enables us to bring out. But, to realize this accord between the different aspects of the universe, we must know the nature of these common aspects. Ancient writers on Indian music hence maintain that the subtle bonds of accord between the principles of nature and the principles of harmony can be explained only by traditional metaphysics, drawn of course from the *Vedas*. Another explanation tending to support this theory is: The universe or *jagat* (that which moves) is the result of combination of forces and movements. Every movement produces vibration and hence a sound—what Milton calls 'the music of the spheres' peculiar to it. They may not be audible but there is no doubt as for their existence as absolute sound. Hence it is that the relation between elements is explained by a relation of sounds. Perhaps this could be the reason why astrology and kindred sciences express themselves in terms of harmonic relations. This 'music inaudible' as Kabir calls it, is said to be heard by Yogins—people with keener and subtler sense perceptions. We of the grosser calibre may endeavour to produce corresponding or nearly corresponding vibrations, hence, the art music. If we were to produce the exact vibrations, the universe (the basis of the existence of which is its very imperfection) would not exist. The work of the artist or musician, would be to know as accurately as possible the harmonic relation of things and to recreate through his art, the semblance of the real universe. 'Music expresses the accord of Heaven and Earth and produces the harmony between men and spirits.'

The following facts form interesting prelude to the study of the *sāman* scale.

The Chinese say, ' one has given birth to two, two has given birth to three, and three to all the numbers. The original sound first produces its dual—the *octave*, then a third—the fifth—from which all other sounds came. Among the innumerable sounds which were produced, five principal ones were selected—adequate to represent the world we live in. In this way the scale of five, the *audava* must have been formed—corresponding to the five directions, five elements. Leaving aside this theory we will take up only the five main divisions to which two auxiliary ones were added—which completed the scale. These again corresponded to the seven celestial planets. It was only the seven-stringed lyre which symbolized the beauty or harmony of the spheres. Music can be thus said to constitute a direct tie between the movements of the universe and the movements of our soul. Dante and his seven ' printed steps of eternal power which is the end for which the order of things is made ' are well known. These seven steps are ' the different aspects assumed by this eternal power on which the order of the Universe rests—they are the seven differentiations of the one light, the seven colours of the prism and the rainbow, the seven sounds contained in the primordial sound, the seven luminaries by which is reflected on our Earth, the light of the eternal great luminary which shines in the centre of immensities.' Music then, as Plotinus expresses it, ' is a terrestrial representation of the music which exists in the Kingdom of the ideal world,' Music may be a means of spiritual realization mainly, but it does have some effect, even physical. This can be immediately proved by the many legends, which bear out that diseases were cured by singing certain modes. But this is only where the music is perfect. Where it is not habitually perfect, the ear loses its fine sensibility to differentiate the perfect from the imperfect and the result is chaos. By such means the heavenly element from music is chased out. Such music is dangerous. The Pythagorean teachers said, ' one cannot touch the musical modes without disrupting the constitution of the states. Music is the extant expression of the accord between human and cosmic orders. It is essential that it should respect the data on which it is based, *i.e.*, the exact intervals of notes as determined by the traditional data, which defines these relations. The disregard of them leads to rupture of equilibrium, that is to say, to social disorder.

' Sounds alone can no more constitute music than words alone a language.' Words can only form a proposition, an intelligible sentence, when they are associated in a logical sequence, according to the laws of intellect. This is also true of sounds which must obey certain laws of attraction and mutual response, by which is ruled their production, successive or simultaneous, before they can become a musical reality, ' a musical thought.'

Ādhāra-śruti or the tonic is not exclusively the right of Indian music. This constant tonic (*ṣaḍja*) is called the ' *ison* ' in Byzantine music. Ancient

writers on Hindu music called it *chandovatī śruti.* It is the standard by which all intervals are measured. In Indian music there is no meaning, no note and no interval unless *ṣaḍja* is present. In ancient Greek music the same was called *mesa.* ' For the ancient (Greeks) the A *(mesa)* is a directorial string, whose permanent use constitutes a guiding mark for the ear and a reduction to unity for the mind.'

The *Upaniṣad* literature of the *Brāhmaṇa* period is closely enveloped by the mystical symbolism characteristic of the ecclesiastical Hinduism of that age. But, when the verses are stripped of their spiritually enigmatical garbs they are connected with the corresponding number and value of notes. Their compositions treat of the numbers indicating their relation to the musical scale and its intervals. They had songs which differed from hymns and the names of the metric hymns and songs were associated with the names of Gods.

In the *Chāndogya* and other *Upaniṣads,* in spite of the strong tendency to mystify everything, it says that, ' in chanting of the *Vedas,* the deeply significant and supernatural *Om* is articulated. What is *Om*? It is the all-pervading, all-essential, all-absorbing, and the all-sacred. " *Ṛk* is the essence of speech. *Sāma* is the *prāṇa* (Breath). *Ṛk* and *Sāma* make a *mithuna. Udgītha* is *svara* (*i.e.*, sound, pure and simple) and *udgītha* is the quintessence of all essences. ' *Om* is *udgītha,* the most supreme and most adorable of all. It is listened to in the ether of the human heart with its seven sounds, which having settled in the soundless supreme unmanifested Brahman becomes undistinguished and indistinguishable, as the various flavours of the flowers are lost in the honey, securing safety and immortality.' Thus *udgītha* and its epitomized sound *Om* is a composition of music and notes with words.

THE SĀMAN CHANT.

Metrical compositions happen to be the most ancient types of musical forms and the same may be studied in the order of their antiquity. The Vedic hymns are the living and authentic examples of the world's most ancient and sacred literature. The symbol, round which the elaborate ritual of the *Sāma-veda* gathers, is *Soma* sacrifice the chief feature of which is the drinking of the juice from the *soma* plant. The virtues of this juice are given in detail in the ninth book of the *Ṛg-veda,* from which most of the *sāmans* are taken. This does not mean that the chants are later than the verses sThere is nothing to prove this, and if any, there is a probability of the chants preceding the verses. The *soma* is otherwise called the ' moon plant ' most probably connected with the worship of the ancestors. Great care was evinced to adhere strictly to the original melody types, as the belief existed that the religious efficacy of the hymns necessitated that care. The directions in the *Brāhmaṇas* were implicitly and faithfully followed. The sacrifice entailed months in preparation, many days in the actual ceremonial and the expense and labour involved were not little.

These Vedic hymns are composed in *chandas* or the Vedic metres, in which every syllable forms a unit of articulation normally amounting to a unit of time. A hymn is chanted according to the need of the occasion. The same stanza may at times be sung to one or two various melodies, then again the same melody be used for various stanzas. Hence it is often necessary to model, to enlarge, to modify the *ṛks* in correspondence with the *sāman;* and the creation of that *staubhika* form developed a technical literature which serves the purposes of modelling the *ṛks.*

A Vedic chant, in some respects may be composed with a Gregorian chant. As this ecclesiastical singing uses certain determinent tone-figures in order to mark the interpunctuation, so the Vedic melodizing indicates the end of the *padas* by its tone figures. The singing of a *sāman* might be called the melodical counting of the *pada* syllable.

Before coming to the *Sāma-veda* proper, it is necessary to know the mode of recitation of other *Vedas*, especially the *Ṛg-veda.* The *Sāma-veda* borrowed largely from the *Ṛg-veda.* The text of the *Ṛg-veda* has been elongated and altered so to suit the mode of chanting. A hymn is chanted according to the need of the occasion. In a scholastic recitation, the *ārcika* form was employed. A slightly more elaborate way was the *gāthika* style which employed two musical notes. The better known Vedic chant of today employs three notes, and represents the ancient *sāmika* style. *Ārcika* is the most ancient.

It is monotonous and always keeps on the normal level or pitch of the voice. Examples of the *gāthikà* style are not current today to the same extent though a large number of such examples are met with in *Marāthi* verse and song.

The *Ṛg-veda* is recited to three tones for, the accent was originally a mark of musical pitch and became a mark of stress only later on. The *udātta* and *anudātta* are the raised and not-raised sounds, refer to those of the speaking voice. It cannot be correctly said whether these terms may have any reference to music. A third tone is the '*svarita*,' which, in the *Ṛg-veda* seems to be above the *udātta.* It is also said to be a falling accent of a dependent nature, marking the transition from an accented to a toneless yllable. It always follows the *udātta.* Further, the first part of the *svarita*, sounding higher than the *udātta*, it can be called an ornamented *udātta* falling to an indefinite pitch below it. The indefinite pitch is called *pracaya.* Before the rise from the *pracaya* to the *svarita* or the *udātta*, the voice is a little lowered (the *sannatara* or the *anudātta-tara*) which, obviously is below the *anudātta.* This is the original theory of recitation, but is very much modified in practice. A point worthy of note herein is that the *pracaya*, lower in pitch to the *svarita*, is marked the same note as *udātta* and not as *anudātta.*

In some instances, the *svarita* sometimes remains a single note *ma* or is graced from *ga* to *ma*. There seems to be also another rule that when more than one *anudātta* precedes an *udātta*, all but the last are sounded lower.

The notes hitherto seen are mostly notes without any grace whatsoever. If the graces are employed the usage is occasional. It is only in the *Sāma-veda*, that we find more of these.

Recitation of the Vedic hymns was a collective affair and to preserve unity of accurate pronunciation and synchronous delivery, a uniform style of delivery was essential. This formed the *sāmika* style employing *udātta*, high or sublime, *anudātta*, low or subdued, and *svarita*, a note with a special slur or pitch accent. The connotation of the terms *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* has been a matter giving rise to great confusion, since they are used in different contexts in different subjects, such as Vedic chant, *sāma-gāna*, the different *śikṣā* and music proper. It is no wonder if we come across indiscriminate use of these three terms in the discussion of these subjects. Vedic compositions are always in one or other Vedic metre, which is a measure with four equal feet each having a fixed number of syllables. Each syllable forms one unit or minimum of the measure. In spite of a possible symmetry and balance of tonal as well as rhythmic form, the chant does not even suggest anything that would hint at any coherence of form, between one foot and another, even of the same *chandas*. It is no wonder that in spite of the different *chandas*, all chants sound alike, no matter in what *chandas* they are composed. The tone and rhythm of the Vedic chants are of the essential and not of the formal type.

Next in succession to the Vedic chant is the tradition of the *Sāma-gāna*, the singing of the *Sāma-veda*. This form of recitation is an advance over the *sāmika* form. *Sāma-gāna* is a later and more evolved type of recitation and as considered by some, contains in embryo the essentials of Indian Music.

The body of the hymn is divided into two sections *Uttarārcika* and the *Pūrvārcika*. These are arranged internally according to their metres and according to the *stobhas*. It is believed that only seventy-five out of many hundreds are not borrowed from the *Ṛg-veda* or any other source. Such borrowings are called *yoni*. A further distinction is between these that have only one melody and many melodies (*eka-sāmi* or *bahu-sāmi*). It would seem from this that *sāman* is music, not music and words, or words for music. The rhythm is determined by the words which decide where it will be appropriate to take breath.

The *Sāma-veda* has no separate text for its own. The text of the *Ṛg-veda* itself forms its text. It differs from the *Ṛg-veda* in its purpose. The *Ṛg-veda* supplies the literary meaning, the *Yajur-veda* the ritual to be observed simultaneously, and the *Sāma-veda* the musical representation in a sacrifice. There was a division of duties in a sacrifice and those who did the part of

sāma singing, came to be known as *Sāmagās.* In ancient times there were many types of *sāma*-singing but, at present, all but three have become extinct. These three are: *Kauthuma, Rāṇāyanīya,* and *Jaiminīya.*

The latter two have only a microscopic following, and even the *Kauthumā* school is limited to a dozen families or so in the whole of India.

A *sāma* being a *ṛk* is composed in one of the many *chandas.* It is a recitation of the collective types. It consists of 7 parts or *bhaktis,* which we will notice presently. A *sāma-gāna,* being a collective song, has a fixed and set form of musical cast or mould. Beyond this set form, no personal variation or colouring is allowed. The rhythm of the *sāma-gāna* is hence of the essential (*i.e.,* of the essence) type and obeys the rule of *laya,* but does not employ any *tāla* or cycle of time-measure. *Sāma-gāna* is superhuman. 'It is never sung to accompaniment.' A *sāma*-singer highly skilled in music when requested to sing a *sāman* to the accompaniment of an instrument refused to do so, as doing so would amount to sacrilege. *Sāma*-singing is sacred music and must not be tainted with the practices of secular music on any account. *Sāma-gāna* is hence only a chant, with the difference that it employs five instead of three notes; introduces *stobha* letters, and takes similar other freedoms of contorting the original *ṛk* beyond recognition or of repeating *stobha* letters over and over again. This is perhaps why *sāma-gāna* is not allowed a separate text, and purists like the great Manu boldly denounced and protested that the voice of the *Sāma-veda* was impure.

The wording of the *Sāma-veda* that has come down to us is subject to the following rules.

1. The *ūha-gāna* is obviously composed in view of a regular instruction of the rite. It contains the main chants that are sung by the three chanters. An index containing the correspondence between the *Ūha-gāna* and the *ūhya-gāna* and the rite is preserved under the name of *Ārṣeyakalpaśūtra.*

2. The regular order is sometimes interrupted for *sāmans,* the melodies of which are of such holiness that they must be practised in the woods are united in a separate collection, the *ūhya-gāna i.e.,* a scholastic abbreviation of *Ūharahasyagāna.*

For instance, all *sāmans* of the *stotras* belonging to midday evening of the *Agniṣṭoma* are found consecutively in *Ūha-gāna* 1, 1, 1-14 but the second midday chant, *Rāthamtara-stotra* is an exception, and is found in *Ūhya-gāna* 1, 1, 1.

3. *Ūttarārcika* contains the texts of the *ūha,* and *ūhya-gāna,* namely, crossing each other, according to the order of the rite.

4. *Grāma-geya-gāna* and *Āraṇya-gāna* are pre-eminently sacerdotal books. They contain the melodies the pupil had to memorize; each melody

there, is provided with one stanza only. *Grāma-geya-gāna* contains the melodies that are memorized in the house of the teacher; *Āraṇya-gāna* is studied outside the village.

Many a melody of *Grāma-geya-gāna* and *Āraṇya-gāna* appear with the complete text in *Ūha* and *Ūhya-gāna*, *i.e.*, in the shape that is used in the rite.

5. *Pūrvārcika* and *Āraṇyaka-samhitā* comprise the texts of the *Grāma-geya-gāna* and *Āraṇya-gāna*. Texts that occur already in *Grāma-geya-gāna* and assume a new melody in the *Āraṇya-gāna* are not mentioned again in the *Āraṇya-samhitā*.

The *Āgneya-parvan* mentions that the *sāma* singers (*udgātṛ*) glorify Inba with *ḍṛhat-sāmans;* the reciters of *mantras (hotṛ)* with lauding hymns; other (*adhvaryu*) with praising songs.

There are seven divisions of the *sāman* chanted during the *yajña*. At the outset, the *udgātṛ*, *prastotṛ* and *pratihartṛ* are all expected to say *Om* as they all participate in the chant.

The first *bhakti* or division is *Om*. The second *bhakti* is the *prastāra*. This is sung by the *prastotṛ*. Thirdly comes the part in which the *udgātṛ* says *Om*. The *udgātṛ* then proceeds with the *udgītha*. The *pratihartṛ-bhakti* is the fifth. The *pratihartṛ* says this. The *upadrava-bhakti* is the next. This is sung by the *udgātṛ*. Lastly comes the *nidhana*. This *bhakti* is sung by all the three—*i.e.*, *prastotṛ*, *udgātṛ*, and *pratihartṛ*. This is sometimes followed by the syllable *Om*. Dr. Simon recognizes only five *bhaktis; prastāva*, *udgītha*, *pratihāra*, *upadrava* and *nidhana*. The *Om* precedes *prastāva* and *udgītha*. These two are not recognized as being separate *bhaktis* by either Dr. Simon or Fox Strangways.

An explanation is given for the two different views on the division of the *sāman* chant. The view that holds that there are only five divisions is correct, and so is the one that recognizes seven different *bhaktis*. The five *bhaktis* are used only for *Brahma-yajñapraśna*. The seven *bhaktis* are used in sacrifices. As we are examining the *sāman* chant here, the seven *bhaktis* may be preferred.

There are seven musical notes to this *Sāma-gāna*. The names of the samic notes first appear in the *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* thus: *kruṣṭa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *mandra* and *atiśrāvya*.

In the *gāna* text of the *Sāma-veda* those musical notes are denoted by the numericals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. These, though in the ascendant when treated in the light of *sāman* notes, are really in the descending order, because the musical notes of the *Sāma-veda* have a natural tendency for descent which is called *nidhanaprakṛti*. The *sāman* usually contains 1 to 5

or 1 to 6 notes. When the seventh note comes in, it is always sung higher than the first, because tradition has it so.

The next step would be to adjust the samic notes, with the old Indian musical notes. It is said in the *Nārada-śikṣā* "यः सामगानां प्रथमः सवर्णोमिध्यमस्वरः। यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारः । तृतीयस्तु ऋषभः स्मृतः । चतुर्थ षड्ज इत्याहुः ।"

This would mean that 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 of the samic scale equals *ma ga ri sa ni dha pa* of art musical notes. These two sets of notes have, it would seem, the same tonal value with respect to each other.

The human hand has been used from the Vedic times as an aid to memorizing the chants correctly. To this day, the manipulation of the hand in counting the *udātta, anudātta* and *svarita* notes is followed in *sāman* chants. A curious resemblance exists between the *sāman* hand and what is known as the guidonian hand. The later refers to the practice of using the human hand as an aid in memorizing the scale and its solemization syllables, probably instituted by Guide of Arezzo A.D. (980—1050). It is a sketch of a hand with the names of tones inscribed in its various parts. It somehow attained an almost supernatural significance, and has stood for a 'complete mastery of the mediaeval system of hexachord and mutation, as the epitome indeed of the entire system of church modes.' Indeed we hear chromaticism was objected to strongly in the 16th century, because it was not contained in the hand. The guidonian letters were: *ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la*.

It is interesting to note that this mode of using the hand was used in the religious music of the two vastly different systems. They find no place in art music. Perhaps with the vista of newer possibilities in music unrolling itself before them, lovers of music have given up the use of the hand as inadequate. This tradition is current and common to the followers of both the *Rāṇāyanīya* and *Kauthuma* branches of the *Sāma-veda*. While singing the *sāman*, the singer intonates his musical tunes with the help of his five fingers of the right hand.

(1) 1st finger—the thumb stands to denote the first note to be sung.

(2) 2nd finger—next to the thumb, denotes the 2nd note lower than the first.

(3) 3rd finger—the middle finger denotes the third note lower than the second.

(4) 4th finger—this denotes the fourth note of the *sāman*.

(5) The last denotes the 5th note of the *sāman*.

Like the hand of the clock, the thumb is made to move and touch the other fingers, and this helps any *sāman* singer to sing the *sāman* tunes with proper intonation. The fingers of a *sāmaga* serve the purpose of lines in the musical staff. The tradition which has come down from the long past

and is still current is followed by every *sāma-vedin* while *sāma-gāna* is sung. These are the signs used in the notations of the *sāman*. र denotes stress or lengthens the tune of that letter

र written over a letter.

उ denotes high tone (*ucca*) denotes low tone (*nīca*)

– denotes trebling of the note.

∧ joins the tone of the previous letter with the one ensuing.

s continues the same tone or extends the vowel.

a augmentation of the tune.

The directions contained in these verses are all well known to every *sāma-vedin,* and have been taken from the *Nārada-śikṣā.*

The tradition of denoting musical tones by these finger-touches is no doubt very useful but, originally it must have been begun to enable the singer to intonate correctly and properly the sāmic tunes denoted by the numericals 1, 6, 7 in the text of *sāma-gāna.*

As a rule, any number from 1 to 5 placed above the first letter of *sāman,* becomes the fundamental note of that *sāman.* The figures 6 or 7 are never used in the beginning. This is the *ādhāra* or *ṣaḍja*—the *Ṣ* on the middle line of the staff. It must be noted that whatever the *sāman* begins with 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, that becomes the fundamental tone of that sāman, प्रत्येकं षड्जभावेन. This rule is very important, as it is useful to fix the vocal pitch of the singer. It should be noted that whatever the fundamental figure it makes no difference in the intonation of *Om.*

A *sāmaga* begins the chant with *praṇava,* 'प्रणवं प्राक् प्रयुञ्जीत' which denotes *udgītha.*

K. Mahadeva Sastri

VEDIC AND CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

VEDIC and Classical Sanskrit represent the earliest and the latest stages of the Indo-Aryan literary language in India. Sanskrit is in the direct line of development from Vedic and is an younger dialect of Vedic. Vedic and classical sanskrit taken together are called Old Indo-Aryan.

Vedic is represented by the literature of the *Vedas* and Classical Sanskrit is that dialect which is exemplified by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was a descriptive grammar but it was such a superb performance in the analysis of the facts of the language that it overshadowed previous works in the line and compelled homage from subsequent grammarians. In course of time it got itself invested with a cononical value and became a 'prescriptive' grammar with the result that the language was, not long after, started on the career of an artificial existence. Literary Sanskrit, for all practical purposes, became static so that Pāṇini's rules hold good for the Sanskrit of today. The spoken language of the times, however, went on changing. Spoken old Indo-Aryan gradually changed into the Middle Indo-Aryan–Pāli and the Prākṛts which in turn became modified as the New Indo-Aryan languages of the present day.

In contrast to the state of the Sanskrit language after Patañjali, we see its natural development from Vedic though the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*—the wear and tear of old forms and meanings, dropping out of alternative case terminations, finer shades of distinction in tense and mood are forgotten, standard declensional and conjugational patterns are evolved, simplicity of the language is lost in some respects and finally the idiom of the language changed as the Aryan speakers came more and more into contact with the non-Aryan speakers of India.

In the evolution of the Indo-Aryan language we must remember there are two factors at work: (1) the changes that affect a living language gradually in course of time, (2) the changes introduced from without due to contact with Non-Aryan languages of India.

Already in the oldest Vedic language we could discern non-Aryan influence in phonetics and gradually by the time of the Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars there has been a great simplification in the grammatical structure of the language which is to a great extent along the lines of the Dravidian. It is my endeavour, in the present paper, to discuss some of those changes in the evolution of Classical Sanskrit which are referred to Dravidian influence.

1. The retroflexes which are rare in the *Ṛg-Veda* come into greater use in the later language. This is attributed to Dravidian influence, but

there is no doubt that the retroflexes in OIA. have developed internally from dentals in certain sound combinations.

1. By the influence of I. Ir. *ś* (< I. E. k) on a following dental, in which case the dental is cerebralised followed by the cerebralisation of the sibilant.

IE. *okto* > IIr. *aśta* > OIA. *aṣṭa*

2. IE. s preceeded by ī ū > OIA. ṣ
IE. *su-ṣṭhu* > IIr. *su-ṣṭhu* > OIA. *suṣṭhu*

3. If ś is followed by a voiced dental, it is changed to its voiced variety z. After cerebralising a following dental it is itself lost with compensatory lengthening.

IE. *s(u)eks dekm* > IIr. s (*v*) *aṣṣ daśa* >
s (*v*) *azdaśo* > OIA. *ṣoḍaśa.*

IE. *isdo-o* > I I/r. *vizda* > OIA. *nīḍa*

By the influence of IIr. z(h) (< IE. g. gh) on a following dental
IE: *ūegh-tum* > IIr. *vahtum* > *vadhum* > OIA. *voḍhum*

4. By the influence of IIr. r (ṛ) on a following dental.
IIr. r/ṛ+dental > OIA. zero+retroflex
IIr. (vī)*kṛta* = RV. (vi)*kaṭa*
IIr. *zhārta* (< IE. *gholto*) > OIA. *hāṭaka*

The so-called Fortunatov's law which prescribes that under certain conditions IE. l+dental > OIA. ø+ retroflex is only an extension of this phenomenon.

So in this respect, as Sten Konow points out, Dravidian influence must have atleast given strength to a tendency which has developed in the Aryan language itself.

2. The treatment of r and l in OIA.: IIr. r (< IE. r,l) was retained in the earliest stratum of Old Indo-Aryan. But later when the language gradually extended towards the east it was very often replaced by l. This is the reason why Classical Sanskrit words containing l show r in the Ṛg Veda. For example:

Ṛg Veda.	*Cl. Skt.*
rambate	*lambate*
rocana	*locana*
srīla	*slīla*

The change of r to l in Classical Sanskrit has been ascribed to a substratum by some scholars, but there is also the opinion that l in Sanskrit marks the cropping out in literature of the dialets more conservative on this point than the more ancient Vedic and Iranian. (Jules Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India.* p. 41.)

cf, pṛ 'to fill', piparti, vipula 'abundant'.

The north western dialect which was at the basis of the *Ṛg-Veda* turned l to r while the original distinction was retained in the eastern dialect.

3. In the Vedic a compound generally consisted of two component words, rarely three and never more than three. But in Classical Sanskrit there is no limit to the members of components in a compound. This tendency was no doubt artificial but it was also an attempt to by pass the heavy inflection of Old Indo-Aryan which had already dropped out from the current Middle Indo-Aryan speeches. It is possible that the agglutinative Dravidian language may have set a type to Sanskrit in regard to the formation of its lengthy compounds. Bloch writes " In regard to the long compounds of which Sanskrit literature has made such excessive use as opposed to the modern usage) one can ask whether the sentence with successive inclusions with unique agreement of the Dravidian, has not furnished at least a psychological model but the demonstration is difficult, for though the oldest examples of this style are found in the old Tami lanthologies, these anthologies, furnish, on the other hand, proofs of the brahmanical influence and could as well have been inspired by the Sanskrit models lost to us" (*Grammatical Strcture of the Dravidian languages*, p, 127.)

4. In regard to the verbal system, we have the following innovations, the beginning of which go back to the language of the Vedic prose: 1) the Periphrastic Perfect, 2) the Periphrastic Future.

The periphrastic perfect comprises the perfect form of any of the roots *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as* and the accusative of a verbal noun in ' a ' of the main root standing as a cognate accusative,

e.g., *kārayām-āsa*.

The periphrastic future is recognised as a distinct form of the future tense by Pāṇini, '*luṭ*.' In the first and second persons it comprises of the nominative singular of the agent noun with the affix—tar and the corresponding form of the present tense *as*. In the third person the substantive verb is not used and the three numbers of nominative alone are used. The rudimentary use of the periphrastic perfect first occurs in the *Atharva-Veda*.

I *bhavitā-smi*
II *bhavttā-si*
III *bhavitā*.

It is possible that these compound conjugations have developed in Indo-Aryan due to Dravidian influence.

5. The sentence in the *Ṛg Veda* was verbal. The nominal construction was practically unknown in the older language but came gradually to be very freely and largely used in Classical Sanskrit. That is to say instead of the verbal tenses, participial forms have come into vogue much on the same model as the Dravidian.

Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya

POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF THE VEDAS

THE *Vedas*, though primarily a religious literature, contain political and other secular thoughts. Manu says that all thoughts sprang from the *Vedas*. This is not a dogmatic saying. It has been proved beyond doubt. The *Dharma-śāstras* and *Artha-śāstras* which explain polity in its entirety clearly claim that they elaborate Vedic truths only.

A cursory glance of the *Vedas* will impress us that the *Vedas* are the treasure-house of political thoughts. While describing God, they give attributes to God which are based on political ideas. While praying to God for material benefit, they pray for their political prosperity also. The well-known Vedic sacrifices *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya* have their political background. Minor and major sacrifices are also prescribed for political welfare.

From the traditional point of view, the *Vedas* are superhuman literature (*apauruṣeya*). Their messages are eternal and valuable at all times. But the study of political thoughts of the *Vedas* is neglected. Of course, political thoughts are not presented in the *Vedas*, in a systematic form.

On the basis of political philosophy, the society is divided into three, as *Brahma*, *Kṣatra* and *Viś*. Among the three, the term *viś* refers to people from whom the political power emanates. But they are ruled by the political power. The precise word for political power is *kṣatra*, otherwise called ruling power. The relation between these two *viz*., ruling power and the ruled is the background of all political thought.

Why did people create political power? What is the attitude of the people towards political power and wherein lies the strength of political power? Where is the necessity for political power? These questions and others are answered by the *Vedas* in detail. The unique contribution of the *Vedas* to political thoughts is the idea of Brahman. This Brahman must not be mistaken with the *Brahman* of the *Upaniṣads*. Here the word *brahman* means the spiritual power and the spiritual authority. This is a checking agency over the political power and also guides it in its function in spiritual ways. This may be described as the guardian power of the Vedic polity. This helps both the ruling power and the ruled people.

The question arises whether the Vedic polity is democratic or autocratic or monarchic. From a perusal of the Vedic *mantras* we may safely conclude that it is a democratic one. Of course, the terms *rājā, rājyam*, etc., presuppose

the importance of the monarchical form of Government, but the fact is different. The word *kṣatra* is more ancient than the word *rājā* or *rājya*. The word *kṣatra* is very popular in the *Vedas*. It is a common word denoting monarchical as well as democratic system of thoughts. *Janarājya* is a term used to denote democracy. In the Vedic polity, the people had an important role. As political power comes out from them, they can create or dislodge a king.

The conception of democracy is not a vague one. All practical aspects of democracy are vividly described. A concrete shape of democracy had also existed through the institutions like *Sabhā, Samiti, Vidadha, Āmantraṇa*, etc. People assemble in one place, discuss their affairs and take a decision. The King's existence depends on these institutions. The people are divided in groups. They are represented in the assembly. The groups are called *gaṇas*. *Gaṇatantra* is not foreign to the *Vedas*.

In the Vedic polity, the King is not a despotic one. People elect him and keep him as a King till they lose confidence in him. The King is the executive head. He is not allowed to make laws. He carries out the desire of the popular assemblies. The King's office is dignified and prosperous. People honour the King. He is anointed in the *Rājasūya*. A king becomes the King after *Rājasūya*. He carries out state business with the help of taxe paid by the people. He has administrative units and executive staff. Staffs are called *ratnis*. The Government is divided into different departments. *Ratnīs* are permanent. A king may come and go, but the *ratnis* are always there. The Kingdom is divided into different units. The administration of unit rested with different persons who are appointed by the king. *Grāmī* or *Grāmaṇi, Daśapati, Śatapati* are the names of the administrators.

Republican, monarchical and other forms of Government are referred to. In some cases the monarchical system is elective, traditional and dynastical. For the political unit, the imperial form of Government also was in vogue. *Saṁrāṭ, Svarāṭ, Virāṭ, Ekarāṭ, Adhirāṭ*, etc., are the terms for the different kinds of constitutions. Federal system of Government and confideration also are mentioned.

V. Subba Rao

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA IN THE VEDAS

THE *Vedas*, which mostly deal with formula in the form of hymns useful at the rituals, contain some details from which it is possible to construct, to a considerable degree of certainty, the geography of the regions first occupied by the Indo-Aryan settlers of India.

In the paragraphs to follow, the geographical data as found in the *Ṛg-veda* and a critical estimate of the data available in the other *Vedas* including the *Brāhmaṇas* are attempted. The ancient Aryans appear to have entered India either from Central Asia or thereabouts crossing the mountain barrier in the north-western direction of India and occupied the region known as the '*Sapta-sindhu*.'

Though frequent mention has been made of the rivers of the region, the information in the *Ṛg-veda* regarding the mountain ranges appears to be very meagre. The entire range of the mountains that separates this sub-continent from the rest of Asia with all its branches appears to have been designated '*Himavant*.' Mention is also made of *Trikakubaḥ* or *Trikakud* which is identified by scholars as the modern Trikūṭa and of the Mūjavant (in Southern Kashmir where *Soma* was available in plenty). The mountains gave rise to rivers and they were also provided with wings, as the Ṛg-vedic age believed. The presence of the seven rivers (*sapta-sindhu*) in the regions of the earliest settlements in the Ṛg-vedic period, probably, very much inspired these settlers who, by that time, had already multiplied in numbers and, as such, were hunting for newer and wealthier settlements to the south east of their own. The way in which the rivers, on the banks of which the settlements sprang up, have been treated, eulogised and deified by the ancient Indian bards, betrays their ecstacy when they actually found a region fit for settlements on a large scale. The rivers emerging from the Himālayas and some of them flowing at high speed were sometimes invoked as Goddesses.

Thus the area of the present Punjab including the Indus River system and the Sarasvatī and the river Kubha (the present Kabul river) and Suvāstu was very well known to them. This was the place of activity of the earliest Aryan settlers and it is believed that most of the Ṛg-vedic hymns were composed during this first phase of the *Sapta-sindhu* settlement of the Indo-Aryans.

The famous *River-hymn* mentions the names of seven rivers of India. The identification of these rivers at this distance of time, though difficult, is rendered feasible by the assonance of the ancient and modern names which also agreeably conform to their respective names as enumerated by the earliest

Greek geographers who wrote about India. At the same time, words appearing as adjectives in the *Veda* are considered by some scholars as nouns mentioning the names of different rivers. In some places, we find the names of rivers used to denote the country or the class. Some scholars interpret that the particular word used in a particular significance now was used in a different signification during the ancient time in deference to historical or geographical evidence otherwise available. Thus there is a large amount of divergence in the views of scholars in identifying ancient places and rivers. The *Marudvṛdhā* is identified by some scholars as the confluent flow of the *Sindhu* and the *Vitastā*. The *Sarasvatī* is yet another river of bewildering identity. Some hold that it directly flowed conjointly with the Indus into the sea, while others believe it took rise in the southern slopes of the mountains in the north and flowing westward joined the Indus. But it is not accurately ascertained when this river actually disappeared into the sands of the desert region through which it flowed. But it appears to be the most sacred river of India frequently mentioned by the Vedic bards.

The land between the holy *Sarasvatī* and *Dṛṣadvatī* to its south, was designated *Brahmāvarta* (also called *Kurukṣetra*) and was considered the most sacred place for performing sacrifices. Even today Kurukṣetra continues to be a place of pilgrimage. The other geographical region mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda* is the *Gāndhāra* region (modern Kandhahar) which lies to the south of the Kubhā and extends to the region where it joins the Indus. During this age, the land of the *Uttara-kurus* and the *Uttara-madras* was considered *Brahmakṣetra*, a holy land fit for sacerdotal ceremonies. There is a doubt regarding the question whether the Ṛg-vedic Aryans had a knowledge of the sea. Verily we do come across the word '*samudra*' (sea) several times in the *Ṛg-veda* and Sāyaṇa takes the word to signify the sea. But others are inclined to view that the river itself with its expanse of waters was designated thus. It appears from the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg-veda* that the Aryan settlements had an eastward march which included the geographical region called the *Madhya-deśa* between the Dṛṣadvatī—the border of the then earlier eastern-most settlement and the Yamunā and Gaṅgā. This was probably the first phase of the second wave of migration of the Indo-Aryans, during the later *Veda* and *Brāhmaṇa* period which finally culminated, towards the epic age, in the domination of the Aryans on the entire northern part of India which they termed *Āryāvarta*. In the tenth *maṇḍala*, mention is made of the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and Gomatī twice or even more. Sarayū spoken of in the *Ṛg-veda* is interpreted not as the present Sarju but as a river in the Punjab. Mention is also made of Southern India therein, *Dakṣiṇā-patha* as it was called and it was considered a place of exile.

Some clans or tribes of people have been referred to in the *Ṛg-veda*. Five important classes are mentioned in one hymn and Sāyaṇa believes it has reference to the four castes and the non-Aryans. Others hold that it refers to the five peoples like *Tṛtsus, Drutyus, and Purus*. But the *Puruṣasūkta*

contains definite reference to the division of society into castes. The hymn to *Uṣas* also has, as scholars believe, indirect but pointed reference to the caste system.

Names of some important chiefs like Divodāsa and his son or so Sudāsa were allies of Indra. The famous battle of the ten kings was fought on the banks of the Puruṣṇi, the modern Ravi. From all this historical evidence, it can be gathered that the advance of the Indo-Aryans was not so easy as expected for, on the one hand he had to cross the mountain barrier through its narrow labyrinthine passes and stoutly resist the strong enemies (the *Dasyu*, *Dāsa*, etc.) who inhabited the eastern regions.

Agriculture was practised in those days. There is an exhortation in one of the hymns to give up gambling and cultivate land. The land was tilled with a plough. The settlers were acquainted with ploughing, sowing the seed and such other details. Barley was grown during these days and probably this is the crop known earliest to them. Some like the *Gāndhāris* appear to be sheep breeders and horse-breeders. They were engaged in clearing the forests for their settlements. They knew carpentry and we have reference to the way in which *camasa* (an utensil) is made. Chariots were built by carpenters. The mention of the warp and the woof in the *Ṛg-veda* testifies to the textile occupation of the day. The *Soma* plant, which was obtained from the mountain region with great difficulty, and was pressed at the time of sacrifice, was available in the North-western mountains as near Mūjavant in the southern Kashmir hilly region. Nor is information of the flora and the fauna of the period lacking in the *Ṛg-veda*. The Aśvattha tree was known during that time and the *Soma* juice was pressed into a jar made of its wood. A distinction between tame and wild animals was drawn and of the tame ones, the cow, bull, horse, ram, ewe etc., are mentioned. The parrot, pigeon, quail and such other birds were popularly known. Of the denizens of the forest, mention is made of the lion. The wolf, elephant, etc., are spoken of.

Of metals, gold is made mention of. The golden chariots of Varuṇa are often described. The twelve months of the year including the additional month (*adhikamāsa*) were very well known to them. Varuṇa is said to know their nature.

The climate of the country is to be inferred from the descriptions of the rains and the winds interspersed here and there. Rains are sometimes spoken of as sporadic and sometimes as continuous. Probably this was the time when the Aryans made their settlements in the eastern mansoon area. The winds also appear to be described as very powerful and they visit places never single but in groups. There is mention of boats in the *Ṛg-veda*. Varuṇa knew not only the atmosphere through which the birds fly but also of the boats (*nāvaḥ*) that sail in the sea (*sāmudriyaḥ*). The name of *samudra* in appoisition with *arṇava* is mentioned in one of the hymns.

The other *Vedas*, the *Sāma-veda* and the *Yajur-veda*, do not give such a variety of direct geographical data as does the *Ṛg-veda* inasmuch as they deal with sacrifices and chanting of hymns. But we do find indirect references to still further geographical advancement of the Aryans to the east as mentioned before. Thus during the period of the later *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *madhya-deśa* became both popular and populous. We here come across the *Kuru-pāñcāla* group of peoples, (the Aryan and Aryanised, semi-or non-Aryan groups combining into one single race the *Bhārata* race) and occupied the entire *Āryāvarta* north of the Vindhyas. But it appears, as scholars believe, that the Indo-Āryans of the former *Sapta-sindhu* region suffered loss of prestige at the hands of the easterners. To a large extent, the non-Aryan enemies were either subjugated or converted into semi-Āryan clans. It is the names of the clans of this period that survived even till the end of the epic period or even later.

During this period we hear of several kinds of crops grown in addi.ion to barley. The rather hotter plains of the Gaṅgā and the eastern monsoon type of climate and rainfall afforded facilities for the new settlers to grow rice and thus we hear in the *Yajurveda* that the rice cake (*puroḍāśa*) is given as an offering in the sacrifice. Rice was grown twice in a year according to a passage in the Black *Yajus*. Seasons have now come to be distinguished and we hear mention of the sesamum and beans of the cold season, the rice of the autumn and barley of the hot season. The husking of rice, preparation of clarified butter, and making honey were popular. Though agriculture was undertaken, hunting was not forgotten. In the Black *Yajus*, there are similies referring to hunters and hunting. Fishing was also one of the occupations. Hemp and rocksalt are spoken of in the *Atharva-veda*. Millet also was one of the popular crops. The carpenter, the car driver, potter, blacksmith are praised in one of the hymns. The *nyagrodha* not found in the earlier *Veda*, is well known. *Khadira*, *bilva*, etc., were also popular. The honey probably of the monsoon forest is popular.

Of animals, the tiger which was not spoken of earlier, is mentioned. Animals of various kinds are listed out in a particular context in the Black *Yajus*. The dog of four eyes seems to be a peculiar animal. We hear of elephants given as sacrificial fee. The pearls of the sea are also spoken of as being born of wind, atmosphere, light and lighting. The salve of the *Trikakud* is praised in the *Atharva-veda* as a demolisher of wizards and witches.

According to Ludwig, there is an indirect reference to the planets in the *Aśvamedha-prakaraṇa* of the Black *Yajus*, but other scholars like Keith are of the view that it is a mere hypothesis and as such the evidence is weak. It is evident from a study of the later Vedic and *Brāhmaṇa* texts that the Aryans of the age had a knowledge of the movements of Sun and the Moon, the stars (*nakṣatras*) and even the solstices and the constellations. In one of the

Brāhmaṇas, it is stated that the Sun really never sets, 'he makes evening below and the day above, it is only because of this' the passage says, that people say the Sun rises and sets.' There is also reason to believe, as some scholars hold, that the Vedic Aryans had some knowledge of the planets too. There is a doubt expressed about the possibility of the Vedic Aryans having a knowledge of the equinoxes. It is for the astronomer to judge the details of their knowledge of astronomy.

In the *Śukla-Yajurveda*, we have a reference to ships, and oars and ships that leak. The monsoon climate with its well marked seasons though differing in the total number is already referred to. The differences in climates and crops due to the differences in the seasons is clearly enunciated.

M. S. Prakasa Rao

THE VEDIC ECONOMY

Part I—Preface to the Vedic Economy:

(a) *Aims:*

1. The main aim of this Paper is a re-statement of the economic conditions of the Vedic age in terms of modern economic analysis;[1] the secondary aims are (*a*) the identification of elements of stability and of change in the Vedic Economy and (*b*) the indication of such of its aspects as are significant to modern Indian economy. Although these aims are separately spelt out, in actual treatment they are sought to be realized simultaneously.

(b) *Limitations:*

2. Obviously, this exercise is subject to severe limitations. In the first place, the historic material under treatment does not present a body of settled conclusions, since segments of it still lie open to controversy. Further, information of such adequacy and exactitude, not to speak of statistical data, as is required by the Science of Economics is hardly available. Finally, the total applicability of modern economic concepts to conditions prevailing in those remote times may not be expected.

(c) *Assumptions:*

3. The substance as well as the treatment of this Paper have to be conditioned by a number of assumptions. Firstly, considering the climate of uncertainty over the area covered, apart from the insufficiency of supporting data, many of the statements have to be cast in an inferential, even hypothetical frame. Secondly, instead of the scientific view of Economics, as a theory of pricing, the welfare approach has to be adopted here, understanding the subject broadly as a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life, closely connected with the attainment and use of material requisites of well-being. Thirdly, the time frontiers of the subject are arbitrarily drawn at 2,000 B.C. and 600 B.C. on the ground that they represent the common measure of learned opinion regarding the timing of the Vedic age, admitting at the same

1. Purushottam Lal Bhargava: "*India in The Vedic Age*"—Upper India Publishing House, 1956, Lucknow—p. 11—"The Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣhads constitute the Vedic Literature"—So, the Vedic age of the present Paper is taken to be the period to which the Vedic literature properly belongs.

time a probably earlier date for the *Ṛg-Veda.*[2] Finally, reliance has to be placed mostly on the evidence forthcoming from the four Vedic *Samhitās* and the literature directly flowing from out of them, such as the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, and the *Upaniṣads*, although on occasions information is sought from later sources like the *Sūtras*, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and the *Jātakas.*[3]

Part II. Nature of the Vedic Economy:

(*a*) *Definition:*

4. An economy means a group of people living and working together for a material reward, if not actually for a money income; its activity is ordinarily, though not necessarily, organized in some such manner as traditional, or modern free-enterprise or centrally-directed. The Vedic Economy, in this sense, refers to the community of Aryan families, *kulas*,[4] engaged in the ordinary business of life, obtaining and utilizing the material requisites of well-being.

5. The *kula*, understood as the joint family, in this economy not merely formed the nucleus of society but then as now functioned as a unit of labour, earning and spending income, both real and monetary.[5] For purposes of labour, the family included the *dāsas*[6] and *dāsīs*[7] under its control. They comprised collectively a clan like for example the *Bharatajana*[8] of the early Vedic times or the entire citizenry of a clearly defined region laterly known as a *janapada.*[9] This economy is classified as 'Vedic' for the reason that its substance is confined to what is reflected in the four *Samhitās* and cognate literature. From a geographical point of view, the area relevant to the economy

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2. The period taken into account corresponds to the interval between the assumed entry of the Āryans into India and the rise of Buddhism; the dates approximate to those accepted by Max Mueller; vide—R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar Ed.—*The Vedic Age —The History and Culture of the Indian People*—Allen and Unwin, London, 1957—p. 28.

3. The *sūtras*, the '*Aṣṭādhyāyī*' of Pāṇini and the '*Mahābhāṣya*' of Patañjali, not to speak of the Jātakas fall outside the Vedic age as determined for the purpose of this Paper; still, they are all drawn upon as sources on the assumption that the economic conditions reflected in them would be but a continuation of those of the earlier ages.

4. 'The *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'—IV—1—139.

5. V. S. Agrawala: *India as Known to Pāṇini* p. 93; vide also A. A. Macdonell & A. B. Keith: *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*—Motilal Banarsidas, Varanasi, 1958—p. 171 of Vol. I.

6. Vedic Index—Vol. I—p. 356.

7. ibid —p. 357.

8. ibid —p. 269—vide RV, V-55-4 (*Bharata Jana* means 'tribe of Bharatas').

9. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*—II—3,9,9.

is limited primarily to the *Sapta-sindhu*[10] and the *Madhya-deśa*,[11] and is extended only in a general way to the whole of Āryāvarta on the ground that it indicates the farthest limits of Aryan expansion.

(*b*) *Significance:*

6. In the modern language of the stages of economic growth the Vedic economy could be broadly classified as 'traditional' and 'pre-industrial';[12] and its economic activity seems to have been governed more by custom, status and privilege rather than by contract, consumer sovereignty, pricing mechanism and the market forces of supply and demand. However, these purely economic factors gradually acquired significance over the 14 centuries under review until they came to play a decisive role by about 600 B.C.

7. It should be remembered that in those ancient times Economics was totally subservient to Religion and was but a bye-product of Sociology. Religious and social forces rather than economic factors were the determinants of functions and activities. No wonder the strictly material aspects of life received marginal attention in the early Vedic literature.

8. The public policy prevailing in that distant past might be loosely defined as laissez faire, since state interference in the economic domain was apparently negligible. The application of terms like 'free enterprise,' 'mercantalist' or 'capitalist'[13] with reference to the Vedic economy might be unwarranted, although such characterization would be relatively more appropriate than any other. The wide-spread prevalence of *dāsa-dāsī* labour and the determination of occupation by caste, particularly towards the end of the period, point out the errors of over-simplified classification.

Part III. Evolution of the Vedic Economy:

(*a*) *The Pastoral Stage:*

9. The evolution of the Vedic economy may be traced through four stages—the pastoral, the agrarian, the industrial and the commercial. The first two seem to correspond to the period when the Aryans settled in the Sapta-śindhu and the later two to the period of Aryan overflow into the Madhyadeśa and eventual spread over Āryāvarta; but the parallel between territorial and economic expansion should not be over-drawn.

10. Vedic Index, Vol. II—p. 424—RV,—VIII—24—27.

11. (Not a Vedic term)—*Vedic Index*—Vol. I—P. 126.—*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*—VIII—14—3.

12. W. W. Rostow: *Stages of Economic Growth*—Passim.

13. Louis Renou (translated by Philip Spratt): *The Civilization of Ancient India*, Susil Gupta (India) Private, Calcutta, 1959—p. 133—Renou speculates on the evidence of great fortunes amassed (from which may be inferred the existence of private property) whether there prevailed some elementary form of capitalism in the age of the *Jātakas*.

10. It would be unrealistic to state that the sequence of the four phases was a chronological succession; they are to be separately identified for purposes of analysis alone, by means of relative accentuation of the basic features. Historically speaking, the evolution appears to have taken place as a gradual process of elaboration and enrichment on a foundation of the continuity of essentials.[14] Even when the Aryans were primarily pastoral, the Rigvedic hymns reveal agricultural operations of a fairly advanced type; and in the later ages of affluence a significant percentage of wealth was reckoned in terms of cattle; and kings maintained their own herds and distinguished themselves by their *godakṣiṇā.*[15]

11. In the picture of the Aryan economy confined to the valley of the Seven Sindhus the focal point of attention is the cluster of hamlets around which Aryan husbandmen were tending their cattle and tilling their soil. Cows seem to have constituted the fat and bulk of wealth and the only original sacrificial fee, *dakṣiṇā.*[16] Cattle-lifting, *go-grahaṇa,* necessitating the search for cows, *gavishti,*[17] was a fruitful source of clannish feud. Cattle were branded to indicate ownership, and hunting was undertaken partly to protect them from wild beasts. Large stalls, *goṣṭha*[18], were erected for their accommodation, and pasture land *gocara,*[19] received special care. In the prevailing system of barter exchange, the cow came to be regarded as a unit of value.[20] Oxen supplied power both for ploughing and for transport. In short, it was a typically pastoral economy precisely for the reason that no branch of it escaped the incidence of flocks and herds.

12. In the period of the later *Samhitās* animal husbandry appears to have developed into big business, as is evident from the terminology employed to denote the various details of the industry.[21] In the Madhyadeśa the three higher orders of society—the clergy, the nobility and the commonalty, so to speak—maintained their own herds both as indices of wealth and symbols of status.[22] The burden in the *mantras* that accompany certain Grihya ceremonies is a prayer for riches in the form of cows.[23] The *Śrauta-sūtras*

14. Majumdar & Pusalker: op. cit.—p. 462.

15. ibid.—p. 523—vide Vedic Index—Vol. I—p. 336—cf. *Dāna stutis* in RV:

16. Majumdar & Pusalker: op. cit., p. 395—*Vedic Index*—Vol. I—pp. 231 & 233 —(Also cf. *gopati,* p. 336).

17. Majumdar & Pusalker: op. cit., p. 395—*Vedic Index*—Vol. I—p. 223—(literal meaning 'desire for cows' but often used to denote 'battle').

18. V. S. Agrawala: op. cit., p. 223 Aṣṭādhyāyī—VIII 3.97. Vide *Vedic Index,* Vol. I p. 232—cf. I 191—4. (the term also indicates grazing ground)

19. Agrawala: op. cit., Pāṇini: III, 3,119; *Vedic Index,* Vol. I, p. 196.

20. Majumdar & Pusalker: op. cit., p. 396; RV, IV. 24,10.

21. Agrawala: op. cit., Pāṇini: C. IV—" Fauna "—passim.

22. P. L. Bhargava: op. cit., pp. 154-5; Majumdar & Pusalker: op. cit., p. 523.

23. V. M. Apte: *Social and Religious Life in The Gṛihya Sūtras,*" p. 109.

prescribe sacrifices for the recovery of lost cows.[24] The *Darshadvata* sacrifice is virtually a description of the tending of the cows of a Brahmin in Kurushetra for one year.[25] There was actually a ceremony of cattle breeding called *vṛṣotsarga*[26] on the release of a stud-bull among cows. In fact, esteemed as an invaluable possession, cows continued to function as media of exchange.

(*b*) *The Agricultural Stage:*

13. Throughout the Rigvedic age agriculture happened to be the major industry of the nation in the sense that it employed the largest number of the economically active population. About the later half of the age, farming gained primacy in production, animal husbandry having been relegated to secondary importance. Similarly, about the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. in that age of affluence that is reflected in the *Sūtras* and the *Jātakas* trade and commerce, both inland and foreign, dominated the economic scene in the *Mahājanapadas*,[27] while agriculture in its turn yielded pride of place.

14. The Vedic term '*kṛṣṭi*'[28] apart from denoting people in general specifically refers to the numerous class of agriculturists. The *kinasa*[29] of *Ṛg-Veda* and the *kṛṣīvala*[29] of Pāṇini evidently followed the most wide-spread *vṛtti* of farming. Agricultural operations are collectively referred to as *kṛṣi* by Pāṇini.[30] The technique of production, to be inferred from the early hymns, appears to have been rather undeveloped. The operation of tilling the soil meant the making of furrows, *sītā*,[31] in the field with the metallic share of a plough, *phala*,[32] drawn by bullocks. *Yava*, translated as barley, was the staple grain in the Rigvedic times, while rice cultivation was as yet unknown. Reference to water-courses, *kulyā*,[33] both natural and artificial, in the *Ṛg-Veda*, points to the existence of some rudimentary system of irrigation.

24. Majumdar & Pusalker: op. cit., p. 523.

25. ibid; p. 523; & Apte—p. 104.

26. ibid., p. 523. Also vide Apte: op. cit., p. 115.

27. T. W. Rhys-Davids: *Buddhist India*, pp. 42—45 Passim. Also vide Ratilal N. Mehta: *Pre-Buddhist India* pp. 211-224 passim.

28. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 188—The common use of the term shows that tha Āryans, when they invaded India, were already agriculturists.

29. ibid., p. 159; RV, IV. 58.7;. (Vide Pāṇini—p. 195) The term *kṛṣīvala* was found to be more expressive, meaning 'one who followed agriculture as his profession.'

30. (Vide Pāṇini—p. 194)—*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 181.

31. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 58—cf. RV. IV. 57, 6,7. This is perhaps the most agricultural of RV hymns.

32. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 58; cf. RV, IV. 57.8. ('*phalakṛṣṭa*, 'ploughed land' as opposed to *araṇya*, 'wild land').

33. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 173—"artificial watercourses flowing into a reservoir, *hrada*."

15. The later *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* provide evidence of the progress of agriculture in the pattern of cropping and in the level of technology. Diversification of cropping could be inferred from the introduction of rice, *vrīhi*,[34] and wheat, *godhūma*,[35] as distinguished from *yava*. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* makes it clear that rabi and karif crops were differentiated, *yava* being regarded as a summer crop[36] and rice as a winter crop,[37] while beans, *māṣa*,[38] and seasamum, *tila*,[39] were harvested as winter crops. The *Taittirīya* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas* refer to six, eight, twelve and even twenty-four oxen used for drawing the plough as it must have been quite heavy and large.[40] The use of farm-yard manure seems to have been appreciated, dung, *śakṛt*,[41] as distinguished from dry cow-dung, *karīṣa*,[42] being often mentioned. The plough-share, now an improved impliment, is described as smooth-handled and lance-pointed, *paviravaut*.[43]

16. The culmination of the agrarian industry in the first half of the first millennium B.C. can be inferred from the *Sūtras*. Extreme division of labour is indicated by various sacrifices associated with practically every single farming operation. One sacrifice was offered in honour of *sītā*, now deified as the Goddess of Agriculture, preferably on a field of rice or barley.[44] The *Gṛhya-Sūtras* mention another sacrifice to propitiate the Lord of the Field, *Kṣetrapati*,[45] and still another, the *Āgrayaṇa* sacrifice was associated with the partaking of the first fruits of the harvest.[46]

17. It could be learnt from Pāṇini that land was classified into cultivated and uncultivated land, the latter being further divided into waste land, *ūṣara*,[47]

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34. Vide Majumdar & Pusalker: p. 460—(cf. Pāṇīnī—p. 205).

35. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 237—*Godhūma*, frequently mentioned in the *Yajurveda Samhitā* and expressly distinguished from *vrīhi* and *yava*, now clearly known as barley.

36. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 187—Vide *Taittrīya Samhitā*—V, 2, & XX. 2. Vide Pāṇīnī—pp. 204, 206.

37. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 182 Vide Pāṇini—p. 206.

38. ibid., Vol. II, p. 156—Vide Pāṇini—p. 207.

39. ibid, Vol. I—p. 312—Taittirīyā Samhita assigns it to the *hemanta* and *śiṣira* seasons. Vide Pāṇini—p. 207.

40. Majumdar & Pusalker: p. 460 also vide Apte: p. 104.

41. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II: p. 348 RV., I. 161.10

42. ibid., Vol. I, p. 139—" The *Atharva-Veda* shows that the value of natural manure of animals in the fields was appreciated."

43. Majumdar & Pusalker: p. 460—Also cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 509. 'plough having a metal share.'

44. Vide Apte; p. 106;—& Majumdar & Pusalker; p. 523.

45 ibid., p. 105—ibid., p. 523.

46 ibid., p. 107—ibid., p. 523.

47 Vide Pāṇini—p. 195. cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. pp. 99-100—RV mentions waste land as *artana*.

and pasture land, *gocara*.[47] Arable land, *karṣa*[48] was divided into separate holdings known as *kṣetra*[48]; small-scale cultivation might have been the rule, with *halya*,[49] a holding cultivable with a single plough, but exceptions of large-scale cultivation seem to be indicated by Patañjali's term *parama-halya*,[49] a farm in excess of the normal unit. Advance in farming technique is to be inferred from the distinction made by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* between ploughing (*kṛṣantaḥ*),[50] sowing (*vapantaḥ*)[50] reaping (*lunantaḥ*),[50] and threshing (*mrinantaḥ*).[50] Further, Pāṇini mentions classification of fields firstly on the basis of crops grown and secondly, on the basis of quantities of seed required for their sowing; the first category points to specialization, as the field is known by the crop grown, such as *vraiheya* for the rice field, *yavya* for the barley field, *tilya* for seasamum and *māṣya* for beans fields respectively.[51] The second category denotes some intensity of cropping, as the size of the farm and the quantity of seeds sown on it are correlated; for example, a farm with a *prastha* measure of seeds is called *prāsthika;* similarly *drauṇika* and *khārika* are named.[52]

(*c*) *The Commercial Stage:*

18. Economic development consists basically in a commercialization of all economic activity[53] but that depends upon a transition of the subsistence economy into a market economy. The forward thrust for this transition is administered by the twin forces of urbanization and industrialization which are again inter-dependent. With the foundation of two of the oldest towns in India, Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja,[54] urbanization may be said to have formally commenced. Urban life by its very character multiplies wants thereby stimulating a diversification of production. Given the flourishing sectors of agriculture and manufacture, further progress lies in the expansion of the services sector.[55] And precisely this is the growth pattern of the Aryan economy. In pre-Buddhist India of the first millennium, between

48. Vide Pāṇini (Agrawala) p. 195. cf. Ṛg-Veda—*urvara* meaning plough land—also vide Vedic Index—Vol. I—pp. 99—100—The fields (kshetra) were carefully measured in the time of Ṛg Veda and the fact points clearly to individual ownership of land.

49. Vide V. S. Agrawala—pp. 195-196.

50. ibid. (Agrawala)—p. 199.

51. ibid. ibid. —p. 198.

52. ibid. ibid. —pp. 197—198.

53. Williamson and Buttrick—" Economic Development—Principles and Patterns "—Introduction—passim.

54. Purushottam Lal Bhargava—Op. cit.—p. 158—" the history of some at least of the ancient towns of northern India such as Kanauj and Banaras is traceable to the Rig-vedic period."

55. Colin Clerk—" Conditions of Progress "—1957—p. 492.

1,000 and 600 B.C. *vyāpāra*, trade and *vāṇijya*, commerce, dominated the economic scene;[56] the *Jātakas* unveil the portrait, as it were, of an affluent society.[57]

19. In the early part of the Rigvedic period city life seems to have been completely absent;[58] the Sapta-sindhu was studded with settlements such as the *grāma*,[59] village, the *ghoṣa*,[59] abode of herdsmen, and the *kheṭa*,[59] hamlet; it is unlikely that the headquarters of a chieftain was anything more than a *pura*,[60] a fortified village. But as the Āryans moved eastward, they gradually developed town-life so vividly pictured in the later Vedic literature. While perhaps the history of the oldest *nāgara* could be traced to the Rigvedic times, the rise of cities regarded as the insignia of Aryan civilization might have been witnessed by the contemporaries of the later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.[61] A large number of *nagaras* such as Ayodhyā, Mithilā, Vaiśālī, Campā, Kāmpilya and Āsandivant might have functioned, to put in modern economic language, like centres of spread effects, radiating impulses of growth.

20. However, a word of caution should be uttered here. Since the time of the Rigvedic hymns down to this day, India has continued to be fundamentally a land of villages. Indeed, right up to the end of the age of the *Upaniṣads* an overwhelming majority of the Āryans lived in villages, and the village farmer remained to be the true representative of ancient India.[62] This could be inferred from the fact that there was then a domestic rite synchronizing with almost every aspect of agricultural life and practically none associated with urban life.[62]

21. The occupational structure, *jānapadī vṛtti*,[63] as Pāṇini calls it, evolved from a simple and fluid stage into an elaborate and rigid stage over these 14 centuries. Five artisans common to every Vedic *grāma*, known as *pancha karuki*,[64] have been later identified by Patañjali as *vardhakī*,[65] the carpenter, *kulāla*[65] the potter, *karmāra*[65] the blacksmith, *nāpita*[65] the barber, and *rajaka*[65] the washerman. The occupation of carpentry was highly esteemed because

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56. Vide V. S. Agrawala—p. 238—Trade and commerce are implied in the same general term *vyavahāra.*

57 Ratilal N. Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 211 to 221—passim.

58 Purushottam Lal Bhargava—op. cit.—p. 158.

59 Vide V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 63.

60 Vedic Index—Vol. I—pp. 244—245—a fort occasionally built inside a village.

61 Purushottam Lal Bhargava—op. cit.—p. 158.

62. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 523.

63. Vide V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 194.

64. Baij Nath Puri—" India in the Time of Patanjali "—Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay—1957—pp. 116—117.

65. Vedic Index—Vol. I—P. 297—The Ṛg-Vedic term is *taksan*—Vide p. 171—p. 140 & p. 441—Probably a guild of *karmaras* already existed in the Ṛg-Vedic period—*vapti* is the Ṛg-Vedic equivalent of *napita.*

the carpenter undertook a variety of jobs as a wheelright, a joiner, a maker of chariots and a wood-carver. The metal *ayas*[66] is variously interpreted to mean iron, copper or bronze and the *ayaskāra*[67] turned out household utensils. Among domestic industries carried on in the cottage, *kuṭī*,[68] may be mentioned sewing, basket-making, plaiting reed mats, and the spinning and weaving of cloth chiefly by women. In the age of the *Ṛg-Veda* persons engaged in these minor occupations do not appear to have been regarded as social inferiors, as manual labour was respected.[69]

22. Social stratification synchronized with division of labour, although in a flexible manner. The three upper classes took to a kind of specialization-the Brahmins in officiating at the sacrifices and preserving the sacred hymnology of the *Vedas*, the Kṣatriyas in the profession of arms and administration, and the Vaiśyas in farming, animal husbandry, arts and crafts, trade and commerce. But none of the classes were so irrevocably bound up with specific occupations as to prevent all inter-occupational mobility; for example, *Rājans* were to be found among the poets who composed the Vedic hymns;[70] the three higher orders were rearing cattle, and took up arms in times of war; similarly although money-lending was chiefly practised by the Vaiśyas, Brahmins too occasionally undertook this trade.[71]

23. Extensive trade, both inland and foreign, was carried on in the Rigvedic times. Whether maritime trade took place or not still remains a matter of controversy, although the frequent usage of words like *samudra*,[72] the sea, and *śatarita*,[72] a ship of a hundred oars, testify to the existence of sea-borne trade. Prayers were offered for gaining a hundred treasures, probably by merchants seeking divine aid for success in commerce.[73] Exchange took place largely on the basis of barter, while the cow and the *niṣka* were sometimes utilized as units of value and media of exchange. In the *niṣka*[74] probably made of gold the dim beginnings of coinage might be discovered.

66. Vedic Index—Vol. I—pp. 31—32—Meaning of the term as used in the Ṛg-Veda is uncertain—The Atharva-veda makes the distinction between two species—*syama* (iron) and *lolita* (copper).

67. Baij Nath Puri—op. cit;. p. 117—*ayskāra* and *lohakāra* mean respectively mechanic and blacksmith according to Patanjali.

68. V. W. Apte—op. cit.—p. 136—Also Majumdar and Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 398.

69. Majumdar and Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 398—Also Louis Renou—op. cit.—p. 129: & P. L. Bhargava—op. cit.—p. 159.

70. P. L. Bhargava—op. cit.—pp. 154-5; also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 132.

71. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 397; also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 133.

72. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—pp. 396-7; also V. M. Apte—op. cit. pp. 128-9 Louis Renou—op. cit.—p. 142.

73. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—524; also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 129; Vedic Index, Vol. I—p. 34.

74. Vedic Index, Vol. I—pp. 454—5. Ṛg-Veda—I-126, 2; also Majumdar and Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 396.

24. The list of victims offered at the *Puruṣamedha*[75] sacrifice mentions a detailed description of the occupations, arts, crafts and industries prevalent in the period of the later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. There is evidence to show that the principle of division of labour was fully appreciated, as indicated by the distinction made between fishermen using various implements of their calling.[76] Besides, economic activity came to be diversified by the rise of new occupations and by the subdivision of previous ones. Chariot-making was raised to the dignity of a major occupation;[77] from a passage in the *Atharva-Veda* describing the web of the year woven by the Sisters of Night and Day, it is known that dyeing and embroidary were added to the occupations pursued by women.[78] A wide range of services peculiar to urban areas is mentioned—wine-makers *surākāras*.[79] jewel-makers *suvarṇakāras*,[79] food-catering, playing on drums and flutes, performing acrobatics and the taming of elephants.[77] The barber and the butcher rose in importance, the role of the former being prominent in the two ceremonies of hair-cutting of *cūdā-karma*[80] and *godāna*,[80] the role of the latter being equally prominent as *samitri*[81] or killer of the sacrificial animal.

25. The frequent use of the term *śreṣṭhin*[82] points to the rise of a class of wealthy merchants. A good deal of the fabulous wealth might have been amassed through extensive maritime trade, one testimony for which is afforded by the Baveru *Jātaka*. The rite of *paṇya-siddhi* or success in trade mentioned in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* testifies to the prevalence of vigorous trade and commerce carried on mostly by the Vaiśya community.[83] *Inadana*,[84] money lending together with tillage, trade and harvesting make up the four " honest " callings mentioned by the *Jātakas*.[84] Pāṇini differentiates between interest on a loan, *vṛddhi*,[85] and usury, *kusīda*;[85] he condemns *daśaikādaśa*,[85] or a rate of 10 per cent as usurious.

75. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 462—also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 133.

76. Louis Renou—op. cit.—p. 128—also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 133.

77. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 397; also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—pp. 132-3; Louis Renou—op. cit.—p. 128.

78. V. M. Apte—op. cit.—pp. 133-4.

79. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 462; V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 133—Louis Renou—op. cit—p. 128; Rhys Davids—op. cit.—pp. 39-41; also Vedic Index, Vol. II—op. cit.—p. 505.

80. Vedic Index, Vol. I—op. cit—p. 236; also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 135.

81. Vedic Index, Vol. II—op. cit.—p. 354; also V. M. Apte—op. cit. p. 136; also Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 525.

82. Vedic Index, Vol. II—op. cit.—p. 403; Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 461; Rhys Davids—op. cit.—pp. 43-4; Louis Renou—op. cit. 131; also Ratilal Mehta—op. cit. —pp. 218-9.

83. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 524; also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 129.

84. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 274.

85. ibid—p. 274.

26. The *niṣka* by now became a recognized gold unit of currency: perhaps in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* merchants used a kind of *śatamāna*[87] currency made of gold. Presumably, later on coinage might have been debased because *śatamāna* in the *Sūtras* is understood to be a silver coinage. In fact, the *kārṣāpaṇa*,[88] the standard coin of the *Sūtra* age, unknown to the *Saṁhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* literature, is a punch-marked silver coin found in large hoards all over Āryāvarta.[89] Although Pāṇini mentions *nimāna*,[90] exchange of goods by agreement, barter appears to have been confined to transactions in simple goods like food, clothing and domesticated animals.[90]

27. The rise of a regular banking system can be inferred from Pāṇini and the *Jātakas;* trade guilds, *śreṇīs*,[91] gradually taking shape in the Vedic Age, ultimately developed into corporations undertaking some sort of banking business.[91] As credit came to play a vital role in economic activity, the strategic place of the money-lender, *prayojaka*,[92] mentioned by Patañjali, acquired emphasis.

28. The caste system having taken root in the Āryan society towards the end of the Vedic Age, the caste-wise distribution of occupations tended to grow rigid, if not water-tight, with the passage of time.[93] As the socio-religious heirarchy crystallized, changing of occupation by the member of a caste, though still permitted on occasion, became more and more the exception. Service of all kinds was imposed on the fourth and the lowest order of society as its ordained duty, while the groups engaged in what came to be regarded as mean, unclean jobs such as hunters, fowlers, and fishermen were excluded from the pale of Āryan society.[94]

29. One thing is clear. The economic process witnessed by the two millennia immediately preceding Christ was one of gradual unfoldment and elaboration, admitting of no appreciable break in its continuity, so that the economy reflected in the *Sūtras* and the *Jātakas* stands revealed as the consummation of, and not as a substitute for, the original defined by the *Ṛg-veda-Samhitā.* Hence the references in this study to the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Aṣṭā-*

86. ibid—p. 275.

87. Vedic Index, Vol. II—op. cit.—p. 505—Satamāna = 100 Krishnalas; also Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 461.

88. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 461; also V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 262.

89. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 264.

90. ibid.—p. 248.

91. Ratilal Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 212-13; also Louis Renou—pp. 131-2.

92. Baij Nath Puri—op. cit.—p. 140.

93. Purushottam Lal Bhargava—op. cit.—p. 155; also Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit. p. 461.

94. V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 136; also Ratilal Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 206-8.

dhyāyī and the *Jātakas*, on the assumption that though these sources belonged to the post-Vedic period they nevertheless point to economic conditions which could not represent a radical departure from the Vedic counterparts.

Part IV—Analysis of the Vedic Economy:

(*a*) *Consumption:*

30. Consumption is conditioned by income. The institutional set-up of the Vedic Economy may be defined in terms of its rural character, pastoral and agricultural pursuits, domestic organization of industry and self-employment. Consequently, a generalization could safely be made that unemployment, mass poverty, instability and concentration of wealth—at any rate in the earlier stages of the period under review—were obviated so that the average Āryan was assured of his civic minimum. Therefore, he presumably enjoyed a satisfactory level of living.

31. The religious teachings, the ethical precepts and the social customs all combined to inculcate habits of high thinking and plain living. Moreover, the barter system of exchange, given the level of activity, might have ensured a real income in terms of food, clothing and shelter, unaffected by the vagaries of monetary fluctuations. Finally, the joint family functioned as a type of social insurance. Thus, the primary wants of the common man would have been fully satisfied.

32. The picture of the self-same economy as it emerges from the later *Saṁhitās*, the *Sūtras* and the *Jātakas* is strikingly complicated. The rise of an urban economy was accompanied by a growing disparity of incomes and wealth;[96] lucrative trade and commerce seem to have produced a class of millionaires sometime richer than kings so often noticed in the *Jātakas.*[96] The abject poverty of the lower orders outside the city gates and the conspicuous consumption of the upper classes provide a startling contrast.[97] However, it would be wrong to conclude that the Āryan citizen of 600 B.C. apparently metropolitan and materialistic, is totally different from his forefather of 2000 B.C. apparently simple and spiritualistic. The Āryan community was never indifferent to the good things of life; nor was there at any time lack of hard work to amass material wealth. The *Ṛg-Veda* is full of hymns praying for long life, brave progeny, power and riches, plenty of food and drink. " May we have valiant progeny and may we be masters of wealth " is the refrain of many *mantras* associated with *gṛhya* rites.[98] Similarly, the

95 Ratilal Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 256-7; 218-9.

96 Louis Renou—op. cit.—p. 133.

96 Louis Renou—op. cit.—p. 133.

97 Ratilal Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 260-65.

98 V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 261.

later day *kāmya*[99] ceremonies were prescribed for ends like increase in cattle, property on earth, cart-loads of gold, prosperity in trade, long life and a large family.[99]

33. Milk and ghee and cakes[100] (*apūpa*) made of flour formed the chief items in the dietary of the Rigvedic Āryans. Meat was occasionally eaten, even beef, as when a guest was entertained. The term *goghna*,[101] used by Pāṇini, is synonymous with honoured guest. The *soma*[102] drink mixed with honey was widely indulged in by the upper classes while the common people had to be content with liquor called *surā*[103] distilled from grain. The rich foods like *odana*[104] and *kṛsara*[104] and drinks like *pāyasa*[104] and *madhuparka*[104] illustrate the development of the culinary art in the later Vedic period. The *vasana*,[105] dress, usually worn by the Vedic Āryans was exceedingly simple, consisting at first of only two garments, *vasas*[105] or lower garment and *adhivasas*,[105] or upper cloth, to which was added later on the *nīvī*[105] or under garment—all woven out of wool, or cotton, or silk or hemp. The tailor is the only artisan who is conspicuous by his absence in the Vedic Age. The Āryan had a natural love of finery; and the growth of refinement and wealth was signalized by the wearing of embroidered clothing and ornaments of gold.[106] The common amusements were chariot-racing, dicing, dancing and singing, the first two being the more popular. The houses, *harmya*, in the Rigvedic age were built of wood, roofed with bamboos and thatched with grass, with comparative ease. They contained a special place for *gārhapatya*[107] fire and stalls for cattle; in later times they were made spacious enough to include a treasure-house, *dhana-dhānī*[107] mentioned by the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, and a women's apartment, *patnīnām-sadana*,[108] mentioned by the *Atharva-Veda*. In fine, there is no evidence to infer that the average Āryan was deprived of any of these minimum necessaries of life. Indeed, the undertone of robust optimum of the literature of the entire age points to a people who had had their share of the abundant domestic product.

34. Now, consumption is the motive force behind production; and production results from the co-operant functioning of the factors of land,

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99 ibid.—p. 263.

100 Purushottam Lal Bhargava—op. cit.—pp. 159-60.

101 ibid.—p. 160.

102 Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 393; also V. M. Apte—p. 96.

103 ibid. also V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 97.

104 Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 519; V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 99; also Purushottam Lal Bhargava—op. cit.—p. 160.

105. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—pp. 393, 458 & 520.

106. V. M. Apte—op. cit.—pp. 54-5 and 62-63; and also Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—pp. 458-9 & 520-21.

107. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 462.

108. ibid.—p. 396.

labour, capital and enterprise. The measure of factor endowment of the Vedic economy is to be examined in order to assess production.

35. Land was both plentiful in supply and fertile in quality in the Vedic age. Indeed, it was not an article of commerce.[108] Population was scanty and scattered over wide areas, so that fresh land could be easily obtained if needed by a large family to feed its growing numbers.[109] Thus, the man-land ratio, now in 1960's so totally adverse to the progress of farming must have been quite favourable to the Vedic agriculture. A favourable man-land ratio facilitates the requisite proportionality in the combination of factors; more land combined with less men must have been at that time conducive to maximise output per man. It is conceivable that the Law of Diminishing Return hardly ever came into operation in agricultural production in the Vedic Age; the Vedic farmer probably never experienced either the intensive or the extensive margin of cultivation.

36. Labour was equally plentiful in supply, most of it without significant economic cost. In a society composed of masters, namely the Āryans, and servants not very different from slaves, the non-Āryan *dāsas* and *dāsīs*, the average wage might well have been below the competitive wage. Further, the joint family supplied its own labour, in which case the question of work for a wage would not arise. However, a system of wages did prevail.[110] Pāṇini differentiates between skilled and unskilled labour: the unskilled labourers were engaged in hard manual work as *karmakara*[111] and received wages as *bhṛti*.[111] Skilled workmen *śilpin*,[112] received wages, *vetana*,[112] in money. Both agricultural labour and skilled workmen earned their livelihood, *jīvikārtha*,[113] through payment of wages in kind or cash. The system of receiving a fixed payment in return for stipulated services rendered was called by Pāṇini *parikrayaṇa*.[114] He even hints at a scale of monthly wages in his time—a workman receiving five, six or ten *kārṣapaṇas* per mensem.[115]

37. Regarding capital, little positive information can be gleaned from Vedic literature which would stand the rigours of modern economic analysis. Still, the assumption could be made that the requisite fixed and working capital was obtained without much difficulty. From the *Gṛhya-sūtras* it is clear that the agriculturist and the artisan could build their house or *kuṭī* because sites and materials were easy to procure;[116] and as the technique of production was not yet sophisticated, the necessary tools and raw materials

109. ibid—p. 396.

110. Baij Nath Puri—op. cit.—pp. 138-9; also V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—pp. 236-7.

111. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 236.

112. ibid.

113. ibid.

114. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 236.

115. ibid.—pp. 236-7.

116. V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 136; Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 525.

might have been locally obtained. The *sārthavāhas*[117] and the *vaṇiks*[117] carrying on commerce and trade could command adequate sums of *suvarṇa*, gold coin and *hiraṇya*, gold bullion, as mentioned by Pāṇini, for purposes of liquid capital. It may be incidentally surmised that the prevailing economic system from an over-all point of view appears to be a sort of mercantalism since wealth was more or less equated with precious metals. Pāṇini mentions *naiṣka-śatika*,[118] one whose wealth amounted to a hundred *niṣkas* of gold, and a *naiṣka-sāhasrika*,[119] one who is rich by a thousand *niṣkas* of gold.

38. In regard to enterprise, the *kṛṣīvala*, the *śilpī*, the *karmakāra* and the *vaṇik*[120] of the Vedic age answer to the definition of an entrepreneur in the sense they were the makers of decisions regarding output and price, organizors of production and risk-bearers; although in the higher sense of the term, innovators, lack of information does not permit any meaningful conclusion. One remarkable element of continuity will be discovered if account is taken of the industrial organization of the sectors of agriculture and manufacture of the Vedic age. Agriculture was then a way of life rather than a business, and manufacture was organized at the domestic level, both on the basis of self-employment and on man power utilized.[121] Production of the agricultural sector seems to have been oriented towards subsistence and not for marketing; the output of the *karmakāra* and of the *śilpī* could be disposed of in the market of the *grāma* or *nagara* within immediate reach, often by means of barter exchange.[122] The 1961 Census has revealed that even now industry organized on the domestic level has provided the largest volume of employment outside agriculture.[123]

(b) Distribution:

39. While there seems to be ample evidence from Vedic literature concerning the payment of factor prices, it is difficult to discover the principle by which shares in the national product were paid out to the factors. For example, the principle of Ricardian rent is hardly applicable to the land system in the Vedic age. In the absence of cultivation other than by the owner himself, payment of economic rent as the equivalent of the producer's surplus is inconceivable. All evidence points to owner-cultivation and cultivation of small holdings jointly by the members of the joint family.[124] Pāṇini mentions

117. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—pp. 238 Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 283.
118. ibid.—p. 260.
119. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 274.
120. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 461; Vedic Index, Vol. II—p. 237.
121. Rhys Davids—op. cit.—p. 44; V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 130; also V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—pp. 229-30.
122. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 248; also Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit. p. 396.
123. Census of India, 1961—Paper No. 1 of 1962—pp. XXVIII—XXX.
124. Ratilal Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 193-94.

that the owner of the land could occasionally supervise while hired labourers ploughed his land and that the labourers received *bhakta* or food in lieu of wages.[125]

40. The existence of wage labour and payment of wages in kind and in cash have already been noticed (vide para 36). A qualifying statement has nevertheless to be added here. Occupational mobility appears to be progressively restricted by the growing rigidity of the caste-system;[126] consequently, the supply of labour from the lower orders of society who had no option but to render the services imposed on them would be inelastic, and wages would be determined at least partly by customs and partly by the state of demand.[127] Further, the payment made to *dāsas* and *dāsīs* whose status is likely to be somewhere between citizens and slaves might have been determined by notions of their low level of living rather than by the marginal product of their labour. Patañjali says that *daśakarmakāra* was paid with food and clothing;[128] similarly, the door-keeper, *dvārapāla*, the porter *bhāravaha*, and water-carrier *ghaṭagraha* were all engaged on food-and-clothing terms.[129]

41. It is about the price paid for the use of capital that plenty of information is forthcoming, which is no wonder considering the commercial development in the economy. Money-lending appears to be a profession sanctified by antiquity; it was flourishing in the age of the later *Samhitās*.[130] *Kusīda*[131] is the term used to mean a loan in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, and *kusīdin*[131] is the name by which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to a userer. Pāṇini calls a creditor as *uttamarṇa*, a debtor as *adhamarṇa*, loan as *ṛṇa*, interest as *vṛddhi* and security as *pratibhū*.[132] Loans were classified on the basis of the amount of interest earned such as *pañcaka daśaka*, etc., on the basis of the period stipulated such as *sāmvatsarika* and on the basis of the season for repayment such as *graiṣmaka*, *vāsantika*, etc.,[133] It appears that the *daśaikādaśa* loan referred to by Pāṇini became later on the norm, and in Northern India forms even to-day the basis of petty agricultural loans.[134] Pāṇini also knew of periodical interest like *daśaikādaśa*, stipulated interest like *pañcaka*, and compound interest like *pravṛddha*.[135] Evidently, money-lending was a lucrative profession, particularly as credit began to play a decisive role in economic activity.

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125. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 237.
126. V. M. Apte—op. cit.—pp. 5, 11-15; Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit. pp. 507-10.
127. Louis Renou—op. cit.—pp. 145-7; also V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 236-7.
128. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 237.
129. Baij Nath Puri—op. cit.—pp. 118-9;
130. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 461.
131. Vedic Index, Vol. I—p. 176.
132. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 274.
133. ibid.—pp. 275-6.
134. ibid.—p. 277.
135. ibid.—p. 278.

42. The mixed and vexed income called profit was not unknown to the Vedic age. The *paṇyasiddhi* ceremony already referred to is an indirect pointer to the profit aimed at and realised by traders.[136] Pāṇini mentions profit, generally denoted at that time by the term *lābha*,[137] by differentiating between capital invested called *mūla*[137] and the profit earned on it called *mūlya*[137] He also refers to sale transactions named after the profit earned on them, such as *pañcaka*, *saptaka*, *śatika*, etc., meaning deals yielding 5, 7, and 100 coins of profit.[138] Further, from Pāṇini it may be inferred that there was some kind of corporate business as was carried on by *sārthavāhas*.[139] For instance, a *vasnika*[139] trader is known by his *vasna* or share in the sale proceeds; and *vasnika* is also distinguished from *kraya-vikraya*[140] trader, the former owning a financial interest in the transaction and the latter carrying on the actual business.

(*c*) *Value and Exchange:*

43. Higgling and bargaining in the market was known to the Rigvedic age.[141] It became so pronounced a feature of commerce in the age of the later *Samhitās*, that the *Atharva Veda* dedicates a whole verse to say how clever bargaining was aimed at securing high profit.[142] The fact that in the Vedic literature the term *vasna*[143] denoted price paid for any thing, its value in other words, indicates the dim beginnings of the play of the market forces of supply and demand.

44. Pāṇini uses the term *kraya-vikraya*[144] for sale and purchase, *āpaṇa*[144] for shops, *paṇya*[144] for vendible goods, and *śulka*[144] for taxes on trade. *Vyavahāra*[145] is a composite term which indicated both trade and commerce and its main feature consisted in *kraya-vikraya*. Merchants were classified after the nature of their business, such as for instance *kraya-vikrayika*[146] a buyer and seller, a *vasnika*[146] one who invested his money in business and *samsthānika*,[146] one who was a member of a commercial guild. The *sūtra* " *tena krītam* "[147] meaning ' purchased with that ' points to the practice of sale and purchase of goods for a price fixed between the buyer and seller—an approximate equivalent to modern equilibrium price.

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136. V. M. Apte—op. cit.—p. 129.
137. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 240.
138. ibid. p. 240.
139. ibid. p. 241.
140. ibid.
141. Vedic Index—Vol. I—p. 196; also Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 396.
142. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 461.
143. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 240.
143. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—p. 240.
144. ibid.—pp. 238 & 241.
145. ibid.—p. 238.
146. ibid.—p. 238.
147. ibid.—239.

45. Barter on the basis of which exchange took place in the earlier period of the Vedic age gave place gradually to exchange on the basis of money medium. Pāṇini mentions a host of vendible goods that were traded in, and also the great trade routes, the most important of which was the *uttarāpatha*[148] extending from Taxila in the north-west to Tāmralipti in the Far East. He also enumerates a variety of coins like *paṇa*, *kārṣāpaṇa*, *pada* and *vaha*;[149] even in the age of later *Samhitās* coinage typified by *niṣka* and *śatamāna* circulated in plenty. They were made of various metals like gold, silver and copper, the silver *kārṣāpaṇa*[150] having become eventually the standard coin. Pāṇini refers to several measures and weights like *āḍhaka*, *acita*, *patra*, *droṇa* and *prastha*.[150] Given such an elaborate system of coinage and weights, exchange must have been taking place with ease and facility, with precision and fairness as between buyer and seller.

Part V. Conclusion:

46. This re-statement of the Āryan economy in the Vedic age leaves a certain vivid impression of its content and character, despite the lack of quantitative precision from which it suffers. Over a period of the 14 centuries under review it developed through pastoral, agricultural, industrial and commercial stages into a vigorous and prosperous economy by the 6th Century B.C. The stages are mentioned for analytical purposes only, and they had no chronological frontiers. Again, although change in the form of elaboration and diversification of activity took place, the remarkable feature is the basic stability and continuity of the economy in its fundamentals. Further, in the age of its maturity many of the elements of a modern economy are to be discovered in it, so that to a large extent modern analytical apparatus is found to be applicable to it. At the same time the temptation to classify the Vedic Economy by any term like capitalism, feudalism or mercantalism should be resisted though some surface features might seem to justify the attempt. Finally, it has disclosed factors which after all these four thousand years seem to be operative still in modern India, such as for example its rural character, the primacy of agriculture, the persistence of a non-monetary sector, the lingering influence of cas on occupation and the survival of a sizetabele sector of domestically organized industry.

148. ibid.

149. Majumdar & Pusalker—op. cit.—p. 524.

150. V. S. Agrawala—op. cit.—pp. 264-5; also Ratilal Mehta—op. cit.—pp. 234-5.

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V. R. Krishnan

CHEMISTRY IN THE VEDAS

To attempt a gleaning of chemistry from the *Vedas* may be as difficult a task as extracting sunbeams out of cucumber, but to so describe it would be begging the question. Chemistry as we know to-day is a practical science. The contents of the *Vedas* being, as the term implies, a revelation (*śruti*), they could hardly accommodate the organized pursuit of knowledge through observation and reasoning which science involves. Be it as it may, the knowledge and use of material things, less perhaps as a science and more as an art, has grown with human activity from the earliest of times, for man could not but have reacted to his natural physical environment and it is from this angle, that we have to look for the rudiments of chemistry in the *Vedas*, and the Vedic Period.

We have to bear in mind at the outset that a thousand and more years before the advent of the Aryans, a flourishing civilization existed in Indus Valley, as revealed to us through the excavations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This period, in terms of the tools of the then prevalent civilization, may be described as the bronze age in India. The metals, gold, silver and copper were known and used as also lead and tin. Domestic vessels were of earthenware and to some extent of copper and bronze. The ornaments of the time were mostly of copper often overlaid with gold. Terracota was used for making figurines and icons. A large number of copper implements have been unearthed and some of bronze containing upto 30% copper, as also beads, bangles and *amulets*. Copper smithies and bronze foundries must have been existing during the period. Potteries were wheel-made, well-fired and often glazed and painted with colours. Well-baked bricks had been used in house construction, cemented with some kind of mortar. All these were the symbols of a high level of civilization and were the products of a well-settled life. This formed the background for the period I seek to present now.

The annihilating conquest of the Indus Valley by the Aryans seems to have arrested and to some extent caused a setback to the chemical acts of the Indus Valley and the period that followed may be, with some justification, described as a dark period with respect to the sciences, particularly chemistry. As compared to the prevedic times, unfortunately, archeological evidences of Vedic civilization are scanty, and the collateral support of a concrete kind we would have thus derived in properly estimating the period is therefore denied to us. We have to bank on the Vedic texts themselves almost solely for our purpose of gaining an insight into the physical world of Vedic times.

What we do derive from the texts in this respect amounts to very little, perhaps in consonance with the poor material demands of life at the time; perhaps it was the devotional approach to life; or a greater preoccupation with ideas spiritual than desires for physical and material comforts; or perhaps the nomadic and pastoral way of life of the Āryans which had not till then afforded them opportunities for a settled life so essential for advances in the arts and applied sciences may have been a reason; or perhaps still, the fact that Āryan activity then centered on the Gangetic plain, poor in mineral deposits was a contributary factor. Whatever it be due to, the facts as we know point to the neglect of the material sciences in the Vedic period, at least as their applications to material comforts were concerned. This is however not to deny that materials of interest to us were employed for purposes of worship and sacrifice on the one hand and for the alleviation of human suffering on the other. Things of the physical world were viewed as instruments of Gods to be directed for human welfare. How we wish in the modern technological world this criterion would apply, as it sure would resolve the contradictions of the present time.

A short inventory of the materials of interest to chemical science as can be extracted from the Vedic texts may be presented in this context, more by way of illustration rather than as an exhaustive account. The applications thereof may appear to be very remote from the life of to-day inevitably.

The term *rasāyana* which is taken as the equivalent of chemistry in modern sense, has been employed in the *Atharva-Veda* to mean the science of medicine that puts off old age and cures diseases. *Rasa* is identified as water:[1] Water was the most important of chemicals and had a unique place in curative medicine.[2] It contains medicine, it is immortalizing.[3] Even herbs are medicinal because of the water content (juice).[4]

Gold is identified with light[5] and is a symbol of the sun,[6] and of purity and immortality.[7] Figurines of gold were employed in the rituals for the removal of evil spirits. It was the practice to put gold[8] in the mouth, nostrils, eyes and ears of the dead, practice prevalent to-day. Gold was used as amulet, as also silver, copper and lead.[9] It was the belief that materials used

1 अपां रस: । AV. IV. 4.5.

2 अप्स्वन्तरमृतमप्सु भेषजम् । AV. I. 4.4.

3 अप्सु मे सोमो अब्रवीदन्तर्विश्वानि भेषजा । AV. I. 6.2.

4 अपो अग्रं दिव्या ओषधय: ।

5. SYV. IV. 17.

6. ibid. XII 1.

7. ibid. XIII 39, 40.

8. ibid. XIII 38.

9. ibid. XIII 4.

as amulets could transmit, by their living force, to the wearer by contact the properties associated with them.

Lead symbolized the head of a demon. It had the capacity to ward off evil.[10]

The performer of a sacrifice had a silver discus under his left foot as a charm against death and a gold one under his right foot to protect him against lightning.

Reference is found to bronze, tin and (with some doubt) iron.[11] The Vedic period is also supposed to be the beginning of iron age in India.

Salt was medicinally used for applying to sores and sand patties to stop the flow of blood.[12] Earth itself was associated with curative properties and the plants and herbs born of earth and water.[13] A large number of plants are mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda*.[14]

The identity of several of them has not been revealed, but many of them are known and have been in use through the ages. We may say that there was a limited pharmacopoeia; to give some illustrations, Rohiṇī, Añjana, Apāmarga, Jangiḍa, Pippalī, Viśaṅka, Praśniparṇī and so on.[15] Extracts of plants were administered to patients, or their paste was applied as ointments, or they were simply used as amulets.[16] But more than their value as drugs, there was greater reliance on faith and on unseen supernatural powers in the *Atharva-Veda*. An amulet is described as better than a thousand medicines.[17]

Milk was a kind of ambrosia by itself. It could free people from maladies. The cow which derived from the earth and plants its sustenance was holy and its products had remedial properties. The *Śukla-yajur-veda* speaks about milk:

श्वात्राः पीताभवत यूयमापो अस्माकमन्तरुदरे सुशेवाः ।
ता अस्मभ्यमयक्ष्मा अनमीवा अनागसः स्वदन्तु देवीरमृता ऋतावृधः ॥
S. Y. V. IV. 12.

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10. AV. I-B5-1; V-281; I 16.

11. P. Ray: "History of Chemistry in Ancient India and Medicinal India." Indian Chemical Society pp. 34-37.

12 परि वः सिकतावती धनुर्बृहत्यक्रमीत् । तिष्ठते लयता सुकम् । AV. I. 17.4.

13. AV. 17.4.

14 शतं ह्यस्य भिषजः सहस्रमुतवीरुधः । AV. II. 9.3.

15. AV. IV. 12; XIX. 45.4, IV. 17.7; II. 4.2; VI. 44.3; II. 25.5.

16. AV. XIX 28, 29, 31, 34.

17. AV. VI. 44.2; XIX 34.7.

Butter, ghee, cow's urine and dung all were in use, (in sacrificial offerings and) in medicine. Even to-day *pañcagavya*, which is compounded of these cow-products is given as *prasāda* in some of the temples of Kerala and is considered a panacea for ills.

Soma juice was the elixir of life, nectar of the Gods.[18]

A sort of beer was obtained by fermentation of rice and barley (*yava*) which are described as foaming.[19]

Honey and oils are ascribed medicinal values.[20]

The list can be extended.

However none of these seem to have had a standing by themselves, for their intrinsic drug values. This is because of the theory of diseases then held, that they were caused by the evil influence of some demon or spirit, whatever you may call it. From the *Atharva-Veda* it would appear that the earth was densely populated by these and they interfered with human activity too often; and treatment of diseases in good part consisted in propitiating them or warding them off by various devices, amulets and charms, incantations and prayers, and drugs (which probably came last), and the medicinal approach is clouded with magic, demonology and witchcraft. This association of chemical science (or science in general) with magic and religion is not peculiar to Indian thought or Vedic times. Magic attempts to compel outward things to obey man's will; religion tries to influence events with the help of the Gods and science attempts to control nature through the study and understanding of its laws of functioning. All these, therefore, to a degree, have a common end. Some thinkers regard magic as directly leading to religion on the one side and to science on the other. It is also held that magic, religion and science form a sequence in that order.

From what I have tried to present here, it would appear that from a material angle and from probably the modern standpoint, that the Vedic period was not one of great strides in chemical science, as compared to the period preceding (and also of the succeeding) in as much as not many materials of chemical interest came into human ken and use during the period; but the era does mark a beginning with regard to the science of *Āyurveda*, which some people regard even as a subsidiary of the *Vedas*. The *Atahrva-Veda* even though it is a mine of *oṣadhi*; it is one covered with a vast jungle of demonology and spiritcraft. It required the hands of a Caraka and a Suśruta to clear it up and unearth its valuable contents and to put them to use for

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18. SYV. XII 29.

19 ऊर्जं वहन्तीरमृतं घृतं पयः कीलालं परिस्रुतम् स्वधास्थ तर्पयत मे पितृन् ।

20. AV. VI. 24.1.2.

their intrinsic merits. The science of *Āyurveda* was to attain its stature a 1000 years after the Vedic times.

Enquiries as to nature and composition of matter which form an important part of chemical thought, had engaged relatively little attention in the *Vedas*. There are, of course, references to the so called elements, Earth, Water, Fire, Wind and Sky but these are presented more as a physical presence which faced them all round, and not as a theory of cosmology. Any system of philosophy which deserved attention as a scientific hypothesis of cosmology came some time later embodied in the *Upaniṣads* and in *Sāmkhya* Philosophy and in Patañjali's *Yoga*, all of which do owe their debts to Vedic culture.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to state that, by and large, the Vedic period was one of incubation for the age of chemical theories and practice which flowered a millennium later.

K. Kunjunni Raja.

GAMES, SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS IN THE VEDIC AGE.

MAN is a social being, the tendency to meet together is innate in him. One of the chief uses of language is said to be phatic communion, or the prevention of isolation. When people gather together and enjoy themselves they will find various means of amusement. Children often amuse themselves by imitating their elders, or by various other ways. Thus there is no doubt that the Vedic people who had a very high civilization, must have had various games and sports and other sources of amusements. But the *Vedas* are literary anthologies; collections of best literary gems written with a philosophical and religious background, and consequently cannot be expected to contain a detailed account of the games and sports. There is no reference to games using balls *Kandukakrīdā*. We know that the most outstanding event in the history of Indian games is the introduction of the *Caturaṅga* from which developed the modern game of chess; but that was only by the sixth century A.D. Professor Lueders who has worked on ancient Indian games says that there is no record of the existence of board games in the Vedic period, and that gambling with lot and chariot-racing were the only forms of recreation in the *Veda*. Of course it is possible that there were other forms also; but we have no evidence about them in the *Vedas;* if music, dance and literary activities could be included among amusements, we can consider them also.

The Vedic literature contains frequent references to the festivals called *Samana,* to which men and women assembled to show their skill.[1] There were chariot-racing and horse-racing in such festivals. Archers contested to show their skill. Women amused themselves, and young girls dressed in fine clothes and ornaments attracted the attention of the suitors. There were also public women who tried to captivate the men by their charms. Poets came to the festival with their latest compositions and tried to earn fame. These festivals lasted for days, and continued during the whole night till dawn.

Chariot-racing was a favourite amusement among the Vedic people. This is clear from many metaphors borrowed from this sport that are found in the Vedic texts. The term *āji* is used to refer to a race, and only seldom does it refer to a battle in the *Vedas*. The race-course is called *kāṣṭhā* or *āji* itself; it was semi-circular one. The *Ṛg-veda* refers to the course as wide (*urvī*). Prizes were offered and eagerly competed for. The person instituting the

1. 'The Indoor and Outdoor Games in Ancient India,' Tridibnath Ray, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.* 3, Calcutta 1939, pp. 240-261.

race is called *ājisṛt*. Swift steeds were used for races; they were washed and adorned beforet he races. *Ṛg-veda* X. 102 refers to a chariot-race according to Geldner: " Mudgala, an old gentleman begins a chariot race, although he does not posess a racing-chariot; but he has an ordinary ox-car. Moreover, he has only one single steer, although two are necessary. Instead of the second ox he puts the yoke upon a block of wood, or a wooden ox (*drughaṇa*) which also appears to smash up the competitors. As Mudgala himself is too old to drive, his young and courageous wife Mudgalānī or Indrasenā holds the reins and she wins the race. Many other explanations have also been given to this hymn. Bloomfield does not believe that it refers to a race; according to him the theme is a serious battle or a contest for booty.

Dancing is frequently referred to in Vedic literature. Both men and women used to dance; but the dancing by maidens is more frequently mentioned. Dancing took place in the open air. There is reference to the thick dust rising up when people dance.[2]

Music both vocal and instrumental, was well known. The *Sāma-veda* was to be sung orally. Among musical instruments, percussion instruments like the drum (*dundubhi*), wind instruments like the flute (*veṇu*) and stringed instruments like the lute (*vīṇā*) are referred to. Of this, the *vīṇā* is even to this day the most popular musical instrument of India. Even in the abode of yama, there was music, and Maruts, the Storm gods are described as playing the wind instrument.

Gambling with lots was the most popular pastimes of the Vedic period. In the *Ṛg-veda*, one full hymn is devoted to this pastime. This song of the gambler is one of the most interesting and beautiful hymns in the *Ṛg-veda*.[3] It is the soliloquy of a penitent gambler whose domestic happiness was completely destroyed, because of his irresistible attraction to dice-playing. He describes in a pathetic tone how his addiction to gambling caused him to lose his domestic happiness.

The power of the dice is thus described: " The dangling ones, born high in a windy place, excite and gladden me, as they roll in the dice-hole. Like the draught of the *Soma* from Mūjavant, the enlivening *Vibhītaka* has pleased me." (1) " The dice are hooked, piercing, deceitful, tormenting and cause the gambler to pain others; presenting gifts like boys, striking back the victors, sweetened with honey by magic power over the gambler." (viii) They roll down, they spring upward. Though without hands, they overcome him that has hands. Divine charcoals thrown upon the game-hole though cold, they burn up the heart. (ix) About the irresistible attraction of the dice the poet says—" When I think to myself, I will not go with them; I shall be left behind by my friends as they depart to play," and to brown ones thrown

2. RV. X.76.6.

3. RV. X. 34.

down have raised their voices, I go straight, like a courtezan to the place of assignation." (v) "The gambler goes to the assembly hall asking himself "shall I conquer?," trembling with his body. The dice run counter to his desire, bestowing on his adversary at play the lucky throws." (vi)

The calamity brought to his family by the dice is picturesquely described: "She does not scold me, she is not angry: she was kind to friends and to me. For the sake of a die too high by one I have driven away a devoted wife." (ii) "My mother-in-law hates me; my wife drives me away. The man in distress finds none to pity him: "I find no more use in a gambler than in an aged horse that is for sale." (iii) "Others embrace the wife of him whose possessions the victorious die has been eager. Father, mother, brothers say of him, "we know him not, lead him away, bound." (iv) "Forsaken, the wife of the gambler is grieved, the mother too of the son that wanders who knows where. Indebted, fearing, desiring money he approaches at night the house of others." (x) "It pains the gambler when he sees a woman, the wife of others, and their well-ordered home. Since he yokes the brown horses in the morning, he falls down in the evening near the fire, a beggar." (xi)

Towards the end[4] there is an advice against gambling, recommending agriculture instead:

अक्षैर्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित्कृषस्व वित्ते रमस्व बहु मन्यमानः ।
तत्र गावः कितव तत्र जाया तन्मे विचष्टे सवितायमर्यः ॥

"Play not with dice; ply thy tillage; rejoice in thy property, thinking much of it; there are thy cattle, O! gambler, there thy wife. This Savitṛ here, the noble, reveals to me." In the final stanza the gambler adjures the dice to release him from the clutches of their magical power: "Pray make friendship, be gracious to us. Do not forcibly bewitch us with magic power. Let your wrath, your enmity now come to rest. Let another now be in the toils of the brown ones. (xiv)

On the application of this hymn, the *Ṛg-vidhāna*[5] gives a long description: 'Take three dice coming from the *Vibhītaka* tree and make them fragrant with perfumes; then put them in the open air and strew them with flowers. Then that night, take them and standing with the feet kept together, mutter the praise of the dice; in the night mutter the first stanza of the hymn. Then at daybreak, when the sun has risen, go to the gambling place praising the hymn. Mutter the first stanza constantly. Then success in gambling is certain. One must touch the man one wishes to vanquish by head and mutter the rest of the hymn (2—14)[6]. Thus according to the *Ṛg-vidhāna* the hymn is a magic means of becoming victorious in gambling.

4. RV., X.34.13.
5. *Ṛg-vidhāna*, 3,9,5-10,3.
6. ibid., II.1.4.

The text of the hymn does not contain any suggestion that it was used for success with dice perhaps the last stanza may be construed in that sense, " Pray, make friendship, be gracious to us; do not forcibly bewitch us with magical power. Let your wrath, your enmity now come to rest. Let another now be held in the power of the brown ones." In the context of the hymn, this stanza seems to show that the gambler is not requesting the dice to bestow their favour on him, but rather to release him completely from their magical power. The statement in the 13th stanza अक्षैर्मा दीव्य: कृषिमित् कृषस्व also suggests that this is the correct explanation.

The *Atharva-veda*[7] contains three or four spells for success in gambling with dice where the tone is different: वृक्षमिवाशन्या जहि यो अस्मान् प्रति दीव्यति ।[8]

' As the thunderbolt strikes the tree irresistably, so may today slay the gamblers irresistably with the dice." कृतं मे दक्षिणे हस्ते वामे मे जय आहित: ।[9]

" My winnings in my right hand, victory is placed in my left."

The tone of the gambler's hymn in the *Ṛg-veda* is different. Schraeder explains the poem as a drama in the form of a monologue.[10] Charpentier takes it as a purely didactic hymn.[11] Winternitz thinks that this soliloquy might be part of a ballad in which some epic story was told like that of Yudhisṭhira or Nala.[12] J. Gonda is definite that it is neither a didactic hymn, nor a secular non-religious poem, nor a dramatic monologue; but a serious poem with a religious character. Though the use in magical rites shown by the *Ṛg-vidhāna* may not fully represent the intention of the poet, the serious nature of the hymn is quite obvious; as the Bṛhaddevatā shows the hymn contains praise of dice.

The nature of the throws is quite obscure. From one passage in the *Ṛg-veda* we know that four dice were used. The *yajurveda* refers to a game with five dice each of which has a name. *Kṛta, tretā, Dvāpara, āskanda* and *abhibhū.* Of these *Abhibhū* seems to be the same as *Kali:* It is also referred to as *eka-para* in the gambler hymn.

Cheating at play was one of the most frequent of crimes; one poet says that it is a sin against the ordinances of Varuṇa. The words *kitava* and *dhūrta* used for the gamester in the *Ṛg-veda* later came to mean a cheat and a rogue respectively in classical Sanskrit. Gambling is a game of chance, and the dice are compared to the gods.

7. AV., IV. 38, 1-4.
8. ibid., VII. 50.
9. ibid., VII. 109.
10. Schraeder: *Mysterium & Mimum im Ṛgveda,* p. 377 ff.
11. Charpentier: *Die Suparnasaga,* p. 83 ff.
12. Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I p. 113 n.

अया इव परिचरन्ति देवाः
ये अस्मभ्यं धनदा उद्भिदश्च ।[13]

'The gods move about like dice; they may bring wealth, but also calamity and ruin.'

The Apsarases are considered to be the presiding deities of the game of dice. The magic powers of the dice, giving either victory or defeat to the gambler, are ascribed to the Apsaras presiding over them. In the *Atharva-veda*, the Apsaras is invoked to grant success by māyā.[14]

उद्भिन्दतीं संजयन्तीमप्सरां साधुदेविनीम् ।
ग्लहे कृतानि कृण्वनामप्सरां तामिह हुवे ।।
विचिन्वतीमाकिरन्तीमप्सरां साधुदेविनीम् ।
ग्लहे कृतानि गृह्णानां अप्सरां तामिह हुवे ।।
या यैः परिनृत्यत्याददाना कृतं ग्लहात् ।
सा नः कृतानि सीषती प्रहामाप्नोतु मायया ।।
सा नः पयस्वती ऐतु मा नो जैषुरिदं धनम् ।।

It is Apsarā who takes the *kṛta* away from the *glaha*, who makes the *kṛta* in the *glaha*, in short, the power which grants and denies victory. She is described as fond of dice (*akṣakāma*), good at play (*sādhudevinī*), dancing about with dice (*ayaiḥ parinṛtyati*) and delights in the dice (*akseṣu pramodante*).

Kṛta, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* are technical terms for different throws. *Kṛta* brings total win for the gambler, while *kali* causes complete loss to him. The word *kṛta* is used frequently in Vedic literature in the sense of a winning throw. *Tretā* and *Dvāpara* give him success in a lesser and still lesser degree. All these different terms are found in a passage in the *Paippalāda* recension of the *Atharva-veda.*[15] आ भद्रं द्वापरंभरमुत त्रेतां परा कलिम् । कृतं मे हस्त आहितम् । 'I have brought in the favourable *Dvāpara* and *Tretā*, I have avoided *kali*, *Kṛta* is placed in my hand." *Uvaṭa* refers to these four in his *Mantrabhāṣya* on the *Vājasaneya Samhitā*, X. 28. कृतत्रेताद्वापरकलयश्चत्वारोऽक्षाः । The term *kṛta* is very often used in the sense of the winning throw, and it came to mean, secondarily, 'wealth' and 'booty.' Later these terms came to be used also to the names of the different faces of the dice with the marks four, three, two and one, used in the *Pāśaka* type of game. Saṁkara while explaining the Chāndogyopniṣad passage IV.1.4 *yathā kṛtāya vijitāya*, says that the side of the die marked four is well known as *kṛta* in the gambling convention: कृतो नाम अयो द्यूतसमये प्रसिद्धश्चतुरङ्कः । Ānandgiri explains the meaning of the

13. RV., X. 116.9.

14. AV., IV 38. 1-3.

15. ibid., I. 49.4.

other terms as well: अक्षस्य यस्मिन् मार्गे त्रयोऽङ्काः स त्रेतानामायो भवति । यत्र तु द्वावङ्कौ स द्वापरनामकः । यत्रैकोऽङ्कः स कलिसंज्ञक इति विभागः । This refers to the Pāśaka type of gambling, which is different from the *vībhītāka* game using only the nuts of the *Vibhītaka* fruit, and without using any board or marked dice.

In the *Vedic Index* (Vol. I, P. 4) it is said that the *Atharva-veda* possibly knew of the *kali* as the winning throw. This view is based on the text घृतेन कलिं शिक्षामि in the *Śaunaka* recension of the *Atharva-veda* (VII-109.1) translated as "with ghee do I aid kali."[16] Now Durgāmohan Bhattacharya[17] has shown that in the *Paippalāda* recension of the text the term *kṛta* is found instead of *ghṛta*, and that with this alteration of the line means, " with the aid of *kṛta* (the lucky throw), I gain control over *kali* (the losing throw). Hence it is clear that *kṛta* is always the winning throw, and *kali* the losing throw.

Even though we have a large number of references to the play of dice in the Vedic period the exact nature of the mode of playing is not quite clear. The Vedic game seems to be different from the later type of *Pāśaka* gambling using cubical or rectangular dice with marked sides, or a game-board like the chess board. The Vedic people used nuts of the *Vibhītaka* tree as dice; they are described as brown (*babhru*) and born in a windy place. This tree has a place in the *Ṛtuparṇa* episode in the story of Nala. The fruit is not very big in size. In the *Dīghanikāya* (XXXIII-27), *Pāyāsisuttānta*, it is said that a gambly playing false swallowed a die. (*āgatāgatam kalim gilati*). Besides the natural fruit, imitations of wood and even gold seem to have been in use.[18]

A large quantity of the nuts were used for the play. The *Akṣasūkta* refers to the number *tripañcāsa*, the exact meaning of which is not quite clear, 53 or thrice fifty. De Vreese points out that the term *durodara* originally meant the total number of dice or the stock with which the game was played. The players took a *glaha* out of it and threw it on the *iruṇa* or the hole on the ground to be counted. Grasping or *glaha* is the most important aspect of *vibhītaka* game, whereas in the *pāśaka* game the act of casting is more important. But De Vreese's suggestion that the secular *vibhītaka* game is determined only by the two factors *kṛta* and *kali*, and that the other terms *tretā* and *dvāpara* have no place in this sort of game is not fully supported by the evidence available.

In Mohanjodaro, cubical clay dice and elongated foursided ivory dice have been found resembling the *akṣa* of the *Pāśaka* game. This shows that the *Pāśaka* type of game is very old indeed, though there is no reference to it in the

16. ibid.,
17. Durgamohan Bhattacharya: ALB., Vol. XXV, pp. 202-215.
18. SB., V.4.46; TS., VIII.16.

Vedic literature. Pāṇini's *sūtra*[19] अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा suggests that both the types of games were known in his time: The *Nārada-smṛti* (6.1) refers to *śālakā* as a four sided bar of ivory, etc; evidently used for the *Pāśaka* type of playing. One of the earliest statements of this board game is in the *Brahma-jālasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* which refers to the terms *aṣṭapada* and *daśapada*. The *aṣṭapada* board is also mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa*[20] where a game between Rukmin and Balarāma ends in quarrel, in which the board is used as a weapon. The *aṣṭapada* refers to a board in which every line has eight squares. Though there is no reference in the *Vedas* to the game board, we cannot assert about its absence then, since the *pāśaka* type of game seems to have existed even during the period of Indus valley civilization.

19. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II.1.10.

T. K. Gopalaswamy Aiyengar

AGRICULTURE IN THE VEDAS.

AGRICULTURE was a part of Vedic economy. It was known to the ancient Āryans even before they separated from their Iranian brethren.[1] This fact is indicated by the indentity of expression *yavam*, *kṛṣ* and *sasya* in the *Ṛgveda* with *yao*, *karesh* and *hahya* in the Avesta, referring to the ploughing in of the seed and to the grain which resulted.

Cultivation was considered a holy act, like the performance of *yajña*. A Rigvedic hymn figuratively declares that a sacrifice is of the nature of 'ploughing, sowing and reaping.' Before the cultivators commenced their agricultural operations, prayers were offered by them, perhaps in a chorus, to the Lord of the field, popularly known as *Kṣetra-pāla* or *Kṣetra-pati.*[2] Divine consciousness played an important role in their daily activities. This Vedic rite of the ancients was later on incorporated in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, as an injunction to be observed by a cultivator. The agricultural pursuits were held high in esteem and the dice-players were condemned and advised to take up to the honourable job of cultivation.[3]

During the Rigvedic period, our ancients can be said to have settled in villages. They subsequently established nucleated village system conducive to the growth of village community. Later on the community life seems to have much developed at the time of Kauṭilya,[4] who mentions *sthānīya*, *droṇamukha*, *kharvāṭaka* and *samgrahaṇa* as the types of fortresses for the villages ranging from four hundreds to ten in number. The economic and social life of the Aryans was purely rural and *gṛhya* ceremonials as enshrined in the *gṛhya-sūtras* evidence this fact with certitude.

In such villages as described above, the cultivators settled very near the landlord's house. It was customary on the part of the landlord to wake up the farmers with all modesty in the early hours of the morning. The manner of his address to them as 'good-hearted comrades' (*sumanasaḥ*) *sakhāyāḥ*, RV, 1.101) indicates the landlord's excellent disposition towards the workers. It is also stated that he addressed them to offer prayers to gods Dadhikrā, Agnī and Uṣas, besides the prayers to Kṣetra-pati before they entered into the fields. Sometimes the farmers had to cross the rivers on

1. Vedic Index, I. 29, 349, 450, 504, 518, 519. II. 63.
2. RV., IV.57.
3. RV., 34-13.
4. Arthaśāstra II-1.

a boat[5] making use of oars to reach the fields. They were also armoured with weapons,[6] which shows that evil elements were prevalent to cause them danger. They received necessary instructions from the landlords to protect themselves during their engagements in the fields. This shows evidently the bond of affection and high sense of caretaking virtue of the landlord to the farmers of Rigvedic period.

Mention of ploughing in the *Ṛg-veda* is more in the first and the tenth *maṇḍalas* than in other *maṇḍalas*. The word *kṛṣi* and the root *kṛṣ* are used to denote the act of ploughing. In the *Atharva-veda*[7] *Pṛthuvainya* is mentioned as the originator of ploughing. *Aśvins* in the *Ṛg-veda* are euologised to be the gods responsible for sowing of the grains by means of the plough.[8] During the *Samhitā* period, frequent are the references to the activities connected with *kṛṣi*.

Almost all the agricultural operations ranging from ploughing to reaping and thrashing are enumerated with preciseness in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇā*.[9] The word *kṣetra* points to the existence of separate fields with definite measurement made by a measuring rod (*māna*).[10] The plough-man who cultivated the soil was known as *Kīnāśa*[11] and figuratively Maruts are considered as ploughmen in the *Brāhmaṇas*. There is reason to guess that the system of separate holdings of lands were in vogue in early times.[12] The regular plough-land cultivated for the growth of grains was popularly known as *urvarā*[13] otherwise known as *apnasvatī*[14] as contrasted with the wasteland *ārtanā* also known as *khila* or *khilya*.

The ploughland was bounded by grassland which according to some scholars is equated with *khila* or *khilya*.[15] According to Prof. Roth the word or *khilya* signifies only wasteland lying between the cultivated fields, whereas Pischel thinks that it means broad lands which are used for pasturing of the cattle of the community. Oldenberg maintains that *khilya* signifies the land which lies between the cultivable fields and further states that such a land need not be deemed to have been unfurtile or waste.

5. RV., 1-101.1.
6. RV., 1-101-2.
7. AV., VIII-10-24.
8. RV., I-117-21.
9. Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 1-6; 1,3.
10. RV., I-110-5.
11. RV., IV-57-8; AV., IV-11-10; VI-30-1.
12. RV., 1-110-5.
13. RV., I-127-6; IV-41-6; V-53-4; VI-25-4; X-30-3.
    AV., X-6-33; 10, 8; XIV-2-14.
14. RV., 1-127-6.
15. AV., VII-115-4; SB., VIII-3,4,1. RV., VI-28-2; X-142-3.

Regarding the implements used for agricultural operations, the plough-share is frequently mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda*[16] and in the later Samhitās.[17] This is indicated by the word *phāla* and the mere plough is popularly known as *lāṅgala*[18] as lance-pointed (*pavīravam*), well-lying (*auṣīnam*) and having well-smoothed handle (*kṣaru*). The same plough, large and heavy, was known as *Sīra*[19] which was drawn by either six[20] or eight[21] or twelve[22] or twentyfour[23] oxen in the fields. The animals which draw the plough were only oxen which were no doubt yoked and harnessed with traces (*varatra*). The word *aśva* is used in one of the Rigvedic hymns with oxen and this is interpreted by Sāyaṇa as an adjective in the sense of quick-going[24] and attributed to oxen. But it may not be improbable that horses were used for ploughing also in the beginning when oxen were seldom available in large numbers. The ox was guided by the *aṣṭra*[25] or goad of the ploughman. The furrow caused by the plough was known as *sītā*[26] and sowing seeds in twelve furrows is mentioned in the *Taittirīya-Samhitā* as *dvādaśasu sītāsu vapati.* The same text lays a method of ploughing process, namely, first towards North, then towards East, and then towards South and West, promising thereby felicity to the ploughman.[27]

Intensive cultivation by means of irrigation is explicitly mentioned in the *Ṛg-veda* and the *Atharva-veda.*[28] Frequent references are also made to manure[29] as an important factor in the agricultural operations and generally it is known as *śakṛt*[30] or *karīṣa* or *karīṣiṇi*[31] meaning cowdung. In certain oblique cases *śakan* also meant manure.[32] The seasonal rainfall primarily served the purpose of irrigation and the large number of hymns offered to Parjanya evidences this fact. Besides rain source, there are references

16. RV., IV-57-8; X-117-7.
17. Kāṭhaka-Samhitā, XIX-1; XII-7.
18. RV., IV-57-4; AV., 11-8-4; Tai. Samhitā, VI-6,7,4. Nirukta, VI-26.
19. RV., IV-57-8; X-101-3,4; AV., VI-30-1, 91,1; VIII-9-16. Vaj. Samhitā XVIII-7. Tai. Samhitā, 1-7, 1,2.
20. AV., VI-91-1.
21. Tai. Samhitā, V-2,5,2.
22. Tai. Samhitā, 1-8-7-1; Kāṭhaka-samhitā, XV-2.
23. Kāṭhaka-samhitā, XII-2.
24. RV., 1-101-7.
25. RV., IV-57-4; VI-53-9. This is considered to be the badge of agriculture.
26. RV., IV-57-6,7; AV., XI-3-12; Tai. Samhitā, V-2,5,4,5; 6,2,5.
27. Tai., Samhita, 5-2-5.
28. RV., VII-49-2; AV., 1-6-4; XIX-2-2.
29. AV., III-14-3,4; XIX-31-3.
30. RV., I-161-10; AV., XII-4-9; Tai. Samhitā VII-1-19-3.
31. AV., III-14-3; XIX-31-3.
32. AV., XII-4-4; Tai. Sāmhitā, V-7-23-1; Vaj. Samhitā XXXVII-9.

to wells[33] or reservoirs for irrigational purposes. It appears that there is also a reference to a chain-pump (*kūcakra*).[34] Artificial water courses (*kulyā*)[35] are referred to as flowing into a reservoir (*hrada*). A well artificially constructed is known as *avaṭa*[36] in contrast with perennial spring *utsa* which was later on interpreted to mean an artificial well too. The word *kūpa*[37] was used in respect of a well which can be covered at the mouth by the Wheel of a cart. *Avaṭa* is described as an unfailing source of water (*akṣita*),[38] which raised by a Wheel of stone (*aśmacakra*)[39] to which was fastened a strap (*varatra*) with a pail (*kośa*) attached to it. These wells are considered by scholars like Macdonell and Keith to have been used for irrigational purposes, wherefrom the water is being led off into broad channels (*sūrmi-suṣira*).[40]

With regards to the crops raised, we find that *yava* and *dhānāḥ* or *dhānya* were cultivated. Macdonell and Keith take *yava* to mean any kind of grain and not merely barley.[41] But Indian commentators have uniformly interpreted *yava* to mean only barley. It is to be noted that barley was to a greater extent the only crop in the Rigvedic period. (R.V. I.23.15, II.5.6, V.85.3), But in the later *Samhitās*, especially in the *Taittirīya* period, *vrīhī* or rice became a prominent crop. Pāṇini mentions that the *puroḍāśa* preparation may be a *vrīhī* product.[42] The *Vājasaneya-samhitā* enumerates the number of crops.[43] The season for the respective crops is mentioned in the *Taittirīya-samhitā* with special reference to two harvests every year,[44] and the time suitable for their sowing and harvesting. We are told that barley ripens in summer, medicinal herbs in the rainy season, rice in autumn, beans and sesamum in the winter.[45] The season of barley (*yava*) was succeeded by *vrīhi* (rice), beans (*mudga* or *māṣa*) and sesamum (*tila*). The same principle of rotation was also followed for sowing the seeds in the respective seasons. These facts of the crops and the rotations are quite in unison with what is expressed by Kauṭilya in his *Artha-śāstra*.[46]

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33. RV., X-101,5.6; X-68-1.
34. RV., X-102-11.
35. RV., III-45-3; X-43-7.
36. RV., 1-55-8; 85,10,11-116; 9-22; VIII-49-6,62,6.
37. RV., 1-104 to 1-109.
38. RV., X-101-6.
39. RV., X-93-13; X-101-7.
40. RV., XIII-69-12; Yāskas Nirukta V-27.
41. RV., I-53-2; IV-24-7; V-85-3; VII-3-4; VIII-2-3; VIII-81-4; X-27-8; X-131-2. Dhānā is also mentioned I-16-2; III-35-3.
42. Aṣṭādhyāyī, 4-3-148.
43. Vāj. Samhitā, VI-140-2; XII-2-53.
44. Tai. Samhitā, V-1-7-3.
45. Tai. Samhitā, VII-2-10-2.
46. Artha-śāstra, II-24.

The ripe grain was cut with a sickle known as *dātra* or *sṛṇī* and then bound into bundles (*parṣa*)[47] and beaten out on the field of thrashing (*khala*).[48] The grain was separated from straw by the aid of winnowing fan known as *titau* or *śūrpa*.[49] The person who winnowed and secured grain was called *dhānyakṛt*[50] and the measuring vessel of the grain was known as *urdara*.[51]

The grains were cultivated even in the forests and consequently, there was a division of the categories of grains as *āraṇyāni* and *grāmyāṇi*. About the period of the *Taittirīya-samhitā*, seven in each category was secured. Without ploughing the forest grains were accumulated for supplying food to the people.[52] But *Bṛhadāraṇya-upaniṣad*[53] mentions ten varieties of *grāmya* category wherein, *masūra*, *khālva* and *khalaka* are added to the original number enumerated in the *Taittirīya-samhitā*. More details regarding the grains of *āraṇya* type are mentioned in the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*.[54] In the famous *namaka* of the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda* a list of grains is given.[55]

The forests were sometimes cleared for purpose of cultivation.[56] The *Ṛg-veda* clearly emphasises the manifold uses of forest lands[57] and their chief utility consisted in serving as natural pastures.[58] The produce of the forest grains constituted an essential part of the economy of the community. They provided the house-holder with materials for the construction of the houses, and sacrificial implements besides *āraṇya* grains. Like the forest lands, field-grass lands known as *suyavasa* were used for pasturage.

47. RV., VIII-78-10; X-101-3, 131,2.
48. RV., X-48-7.
49. RV., X-71-2.
50. RV., II-14-11, Besides this, the word *sthivi* probably meant a bushel (X-68-3; X-27-15).
51. RV., X-94-13.
52. Tai. Samhitā, 5-2-5.
53. Bṛ. Upaniṣad, 3-13.
54. Aita. Brāhmaṇa, 8-4-16. (These grains are intended to be secured for the king's Coronation).
55. Tai. Samhitā, 4-7-4.
56. RV., X-146.
57. RV., X-146-3.
58. RV., I-58-4-5; I-140-4-8: II-4-4-7, IV-4.

B. R. Sharma

VEDIC ARYANS AND SEA VOYAGE

Summary:

IN this paper we confine ourselves to the *Ṛg-veda* alone for the reason that it is generally the Ṛgvedic Aryans who were denied the knowledge of sea and marine life. As regards the people of post-Ṛgvedic period no scholar has ever attempted to refute or deny the knowledge of sea to them since the later Vedic literature contained clear and specific evidences. We, therefore, in this paper first discuss briefly the meaning of the word *samudra* and *arṇava* found in the *Ṛg-veda.* Secondly, we have summarised the opinions of the modern Vedists on this topic and thirdly, we have brought together the *Ṛg-veda* evidences which establish the knowledge of sea beyond a shadow of doubt. After this we have dealt with the references relating to ship-building, sea-voyage and marine trade. I must, however, mention here that we have to depend on the casual description of mythological events in the *Ṛg-veda* for our assumption. After all it is an accepted fact that so called ' myths ' described in the scriptures of the ancient nations do reveal analogous historical facts.

THE MEANING OF THE WORDS SAMUDRA AND ARNAVA

The words *samudra* and *arṇava,* which are synonymous for sea or ocean in classical Sanskrit, do not necessarily always mean an ocean in the *Ṛg-veda.* They were often used in the sense of hemispheres, lower and upper. The ancient Āryans, like the old Hebrews, believed that these hemispheres were filled with watery vapours and these vapours kept on constantly circulating from the nether to the upper and from the upper to the nether hemispheres. These hemispheres were conceived as two *samudras* or oceans by the ancient Vedic people. The striking resemblance of the blue sky to the vast ocean should have led to the conclusion that the upper hemisphere constituted the upper aerial ocean while the corresponding invisible lower half should have naturally been conceived as the dark nether ocean as a contrast to the bright upper one. These two hemispheres which were believed to be full of watery vapours or what are called cosmic waters (*āpaḥ*) were conceived as two *samudras* or oceans through which the *Sapta-sindhus,* the ever-flowing cosmic streams rotate round the universe. The Vedic people believed that much depended on the unobstructed flow of these cosmic streams from the upper hemisphere to the lower and vice-versa and they attributed the long wintry darkness to the seasonal obstruction of the flow of cosmic waters by the Vedic demons Vṛtra, Śambara, etc. The mythical fight between Indra and Vṛtra is really believed to be a fight between light and darkness or good and evil and Indra

is said to have fought Vṛtra to liberate *gāvah.* (light), *uṣasas* (dawns) and *āpaḥ* (waters) from the clutches of the latter. It was in *Parāvati samudre*[1] *i.e.*, in the ocean far beyond that Indra fought and destroyed demons, the obstruc[2] tive forcesa nd made the oceanic waters to flow upward through *Sapta-buddhna*-ever-flowing passages to the aerial ocean which in their advent brought light and dawn and the sun once again to the upper hemisphere. Here it is to distinguish the upper aerial ocean *i.e.*, the upper hemisphere, which is always associated with light—that *samudra*, (*samudravanti asmād āpah*, the ever-flowing ocean), has been used, and the nether ocean—the lower hemisphere which is always associated with darkness and evil spirit—that *arṇava* (the obstructed dark ocean) is found used in the *Ṛg-veda*. These two oceans or hemispheres have been described in the *Ṛg-veda* as *anārambhaṇa* (having no beginning) *anāsthāna* and *agrabhaṇa* (*i.e.*, having neither support nor station).[3]

OPINION OF MODERN VEDISTS

This much is, in brief, the mythical aspect of the ocean or oceans in the *Ṛg-veda*. Now coming to our topic we may say that opinion among modern Vedists is diverse as regards the Vedic Āryans' knowledge or ignorance of sea and marine life. Some of the eminent among these Vedists took the word *samudra* to mean 'a collection of waters' and applied it to the lower course of the Indus where it broadens its bed after having swollen with waters received from its numerous tributaries. The later application from its very face appears to be unnatural and *samudra*, if at all, meant the Indus, the meaning, at best, we may say, could only be the acquired one by means of metaphorical or figurative application of the term. It is, however, quite amusing that even scholars of Macdonell's eminence have subscribed to the above opinion holding up the interpretation and application of this term to the lower course of Indus or a collection of waters notwithstanding the express mention of sea and marine life in the *Ṛg-veda*. Macdonell asserts "the ocean was probably known only from hearsay....................." and believed that "all references to navigation point only to the crossing of rivers in boats, impelled by oars, the main object being to reach the other bank (para) ...."[4] In his *Religion of India*, Hopkins, another eminent Vedist, thinks it extremely doubtful if the Vedic people had the knowledge of ocean at all and he says the word for ocean means merely 'a confluence of waters, or in general a great oceanic body of water like air' (p. 36). Kieth also believes that they had little accurate knowledge of ocean; whereas Max Muller and Griswold are of opinion that it is most unlikely that a daring and adventurous people like Vedic Āryans were without at least a dim knowledge of the ocean.

1. I.53.7; VIII-12-17, etc., Vide: Vedic Sarasvatī.
2. *Yā sapta-budhnam arṇavam jigma-bāram aporṇuta.* See *sapta* in the Ṛgveda VII-40-5.
3. I.116.5. *Anārambhaṇe tadavīrayethām anāsthāne agrabhaṇe samudre.*
4. Macdonell A.A.: History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 143.

RIGVEDIC EVIDENCES

This being the gist of the opinions of modern or early modern Vedists, we may explore to what extent we are justified in accepting or rejecting these opinions. References there are both direct and indirect to *samudra* and *arṇava* in the *Ṛg-veda* which clearly reveal that the Vedic Āryans had a sure knowledge of sea as the ultimate goal of all waters. For instance,

> tvam vṛthā nadya indra sartavecchā samudramasṛjo rathām iva |
> vājayato rathām iva ita ūtīrayuñjata samānam artham akṣitam ||
> R.V. I. 130.5.

(Thou, Indra, without effort hast let loose the floods to run their free course down, like chariots, to the sea, like chariots, sharing forth their strength, they reaching hence away, have joined strength for one eternal end......... Griffith) makes it clear in unambiguous terms that the rivers set free by Indra flew forth to the sea, which is described as the common (*samāna*) and eternal or endless (*akṣita*) destination of all rivers. The references to *samudra* in similies such as *samudram na sravato rodha-cakrāḥ* (I.190.7) (as rivers eddying under banks flow seaward) *samudrāye'va sindhavaḥ* (VIII.44.25) (as rivers hasten to the sea) *samudram na sravataḥ sapta yahvīḥ* (1.71.7) (as the seven mighty rivers seek the ocean *apām avo na samudre* (VIII.16.2) (as waters liking to the sea, *āpaḥ samudram rathye'va jagmuḥ* (III.36.6) (floods like the array of cars flow to the sea), *samudram na sindhavaḥ* (VI.36.3) (as rivers reach the sea) are surely not applicable to the *sindhu*. The Indus is only one of the *sapta-sindhus* or *saptayahvis* which are said here to be emptying themselves in *samudra*. Further the word *sindhu* is used in plural, meaning all the riverc which flow towards the sea. Besides these, the references to the rivers whihs stream forth to the ocean on being released by Indra, as in

> ahann-ahim parvate śiśriyānam tvaṣṭāsmai vajram svaryam tatakṣa |
> vāśrā iva dhenavah syandamānā añjah samudram ava jagmur āpaḥ ||
> R. I. 32.2.

" We slew the Dragon lying on the mountain: his heavenly bolt of thunder Tvṣṭr fashioned. Like lowing kine in rpaid flow discending the waters glided downward to the ocean " Griffith. (I.32.2). (Cf. II.19.3; VI.17.12; 30.4; 72.3), and the fact that the *sindhus* are mentioned as eager (yādamānāh san-gatim icchamānāh)[5] to join the ocean (III.36.7; VI.19.5), are enough evidences to show that the Vedic Āryans undoubtedly knew the sea very well as the ultimate goal of all waters and that the *samudra* in these contexts with no strength of imagination could be applied to the Indus. Can the Indus empty herself in the Indus herself? It is further to be noted that the word *samudra* is often used in plural as well and in one place it is specifically stated that they are four in number:

5. Sāyaṇa on RV., I.48.3; *sanim dhanam ātmana icchanto vaṇīuah* (Sāyana).

prārṇāmsy airayatam nadīnam ā samudrāṇi paprathuḥ purūṇi |
(VI.72.3)

"ye urged to speed the currents of the rivers, and many seas have ye filled full with waters" Griffith

rāyah samudrāmscaturo sinabhyam soma visvataḥ |
ā pavasva sahasriṇaḥ (IX-33.6). ||

(From every side, O Soma, for our profit, pour thou forth four seas, filled full of riches thousandfold.) In view of all these express and unambiguous evidences, is it warranted to assume that the *samudra* in the *Ṛg-veda* meant 'collection of water' or the river Indus?

SOME EXCLUSIVE CHARACTERISTICS

In V.85.6. it is said that although the lucid rivers pour all their waters into it, they are not able to fill the ocean. This remark distinctly refers to sea and cannot be applied to the overflowing Indus. In VII.33.8

sūryasyeva vakṣatho jyotir eṣām samudrasyeva mahimā gabhīraḥ |
vātasyeva prajavo nānyena stomo vasiṣṭhā anveteve vaḥ ||

(Like the sun's growing glory is their splendour, and like the sea's is their unfathomed greatness. Their course is like the wind's your land, Vasiṣṭhas, can never be attained by any other. The unrivalled greatness of Vasiṣṭha is compared to the unfathomed depth of ocean which is a unique often-depicted characteristic of ocean in Sanskrit literature. From the other similes given in the verse '*samudrasya*' seems to refer to the sea only. In verse III.33.2. it is said that *Śutudri* and *Vipāś* join *samudra*. This reference led Vedic scholars to believe that *samudra* meant the lower Indus, where these rivers commingle. But it is unconvincing to argue on this single reference that *samudra* always meant the lower Indus or a collection of waters and not sea. In the foregoing reference the Indus may have been referred to as *samudra* figuratively or may be that it meant that the two rivers ultimately empty themselves in the sea, of course, through the Indus, or the Vedic bard may have been referring to the celestial rivers of identical names whose goal is upper or lower aerial ocean. It is also to be mentioned here that the sea once had extended beyond the Rajasthan desert and the Gangetic plateau and had joined what is now called Bay of Bengal and that the rivers which now commingle with the Indus had direct connection with the sea. May be the *Ṛg-veda* is referring to this period, a period prior to the formation of Gangetic plateau and prior to the receding of the Arabian sea from the Rajasthan desert. Further it is argued that the Vedic people were ignorant of the ebb and flow of sea, the common daily occurrences. But from the verses:

Yaḥ kukṣiḥ soma-pātamaḥ samudra iva pinvate |
urvīr āpo na kākudaḥ || (I.8.7)

(His belly, drinking deepest of draughts of *Soma*, like an ocean swells, like wide streams from the cope of heaven) and

Retum kṛṇvam divaspari visvā rūpā'bhyarṣasi |
samudrāḥ soma pinvase || IX.64.8.

(Making the light-that shines from heaven thou flowest on to every form: *Soma*, thou swellest like a sea), where it is remarked that the barrel-like belly of that great drunkard Indra of pre-prohibition age as also that *Soma* poured in the huge sacrificial vat swells like a sea,-we may say that the assumption is not warranted by Vedic evidences.

REFERENCE TO SEA-WEALTH AND SEA-GOING SHIPS:—

The Vedic people regarded sea as a repository of wealth. There are passages such as

ekaḥ samudro dharuṇo rayīṇām | (X.5.1.)
catus samudram dharuṇam rayīṇām | (X.67.2)
vasvo arṇavam (I.51.1)

which expressly refer to the sea as the store-house of all wealth. Further gods were invoked for wealth from sea as from heaven

rayim samudrād uta vā divaspari | (I.47.6)

It is simply wrong, inspite of all these unambiguous references to sea, to say that the Vedic people were callously ignorant or had only a dim knowledge of sea.

Further there are references to the reputed merchant princes seeking fortune by going to sea,

samudram na sañcaraṇe saniṣyavaḥ (I.56.2; IV. 55.6).

(as those who seek fortune go to sea). The enterprising merchants here are called *saniṣyavaḥ* (fortune-seekers) as also *śravasyavaḥ*, (reputed or ambitious as in *śamudre na sravasyavaḥ* (I.48.3). These references to the naval merchants are given as similes in different contexts which further strengthen the assumption that sea-faring was very well-known to the Vedic Hindus and that it was the medium of one of the important and lucrative trades of the day. Though we do not find specific references to pearl and such other particular wealth of the deep, the general references to marine wealth are sufficient to prove that they were acqainted with the treasures of ocean. Further, the express references to the ocean-going ships in

veda nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ | (I.25.7)
Yāste pūṣannāvo antaḥ samudre | (VI.58.3)
ā yad ruhāva varuṇaśca nāvam pra yat |
samudram īrayāva madhyam | (VII.88.3)

When Varuṇa and I embark together and urge our boat into the midst of ocean, we, when we ride over ridges of the waters, will swing within that swing and there be happy (VII.88.3), support the theory that the Vedic Hindus had large sea-faring ships. Pūṣan's golden ships are said to sail on in the midst of the sea *antaḥ samudre* (VI.58.3), and a poet in his reverie thinks that he is sailing in Varuṇa's ship which rocks over the big waves (VII.88.3). The *Bhujyu* legend clearly says that *Bhujyu* was rescued from a ship-wreck by the Aśvins, in their ship, propelled by hundred oars (*śatāritrām*) (I.116.3-5). This legend clearly denotes that the Hindūs had perfected the art of ship-building as we find the epithets '*ātmanvatībhiḥ*' (sailing automatically, probably with the help of sails), *antarikṣa-prudbhiḥ*' (penetrating the sky probably with the lofty mask) and *apodakābhih*,' (water tight or water-proof) applied to the Asvins boat.

tugro ha bhujyum asirno' dameghe rayim na kaścin mamṛvām avāhāh tam ūhathur naubhir ātmanvatībhirantarikṣaprudbhir apodakābhih

tisrah kṣapas trirahāti-vrajadbhir nāsatyā bhujyum ūhuthuḥ patangaiḥ

samudrasya dhanvanu ārdrasya pāre tribhīrathaih satapadbhih satasvaih anārambhaṇe tadwirayethām anāsthāne āgrabhaṇe samudre

Yad asirnā ūhathur bhujyum astam satāritrām nāvam ātasthivāṁsam (I.116.3-5).

(Ye, Aśvins, as a dead man leaves his riches, Tugṛs left Bhujyu in the cloud of water. You brought him back in animated vessels traversing air, unwetted by the billows.

Bhujyu you bore with winged things, Nāsatyas which for three nights three days full swiftly travelled, to the sea's farther shore, the strand of ocean, in three cars, hundred-footed, with six horses.

Ye wrought that hero-exploit in the ocean, which give us no support, or hold, or station, what line ye carried *bhujyu* to his dwelling, borne in a ship with hundred oars, O Aśvins.). It is further interesting to note the description of the boat (in the *Ṛg-veda*) which is fit for long voyage. It is said that the boat must be *Svaritra*, well-oared, *anāgas*, free from defects and *asravantī*, not leaking and above all blessed by god for safe voyage and return.

daivīm nāvam svaritrām anāgasam |
asravantīm āruhema svastaye || (X. 63. 10)

(That well-oared heavenly ship that lets no waters in, free from defect, will we ascend for happiness?).

These evidences amply illustrate that the Vedic people had a perfect knowledge of sea and that they were adventurous sea-faring merchants. The authors of the Vedic Index pointing out the opinions of those who were inclined to restrict the Vedic Aryans' knowledge of sea, conclude: "It is probable that this is to circumscribe too narrowly the Vedic knowledge of the ocean, which was almost inevitable to people who know the Indus. There are references to the treasures of ocean, perhaps pearls or the gains of trade and the story of *Bhujyu* seems to allude to marine navigation." It is, therefore, safe to assume from the evidences cited in the foregoing lines that at the Rigvedic period there has existed a flourishing marine trade and that adventurous merchants crossed the high seas in their well-built ships. The treasures of the deep were known to them and they were efficient sea-going people like Danes of Europe. We do not find any Vedic references prohibiting or restricting sea-voyage as it was done later in the *Dharma-śāstras* which claim the *Vedas* as their authority. Even during the Historical time, our ancestors crossed the high seas in spite of the injunction of the *Dharma-śāstra* and spread our culture and civilization in many countries in East, Far East and Middle East. We find Brahmins, and other castes, the remnants of our ancient culture and civilization, in Thailand, Sumatra, Cambodia and in so many other countries. They carried our scripture including the *Vedas* with them and a Brahmin in Thailand and elsewhere does recite the Vedic *mantras* during the religious ceremonies.

Now it may be said that the sea-faring and marine trade mentioned here and there, are of mythical character; nevertheless, we must agree that they do vindicate the Vedic-Aryans' knowledge of marine navigation and ship-building. The legends connected with these, though lack historical contents, throw light on many aspects of social life of an obscure period.

In this connection it is worthwhile to quote the words of A. K. Coomaraswamy, the great indologist, who, speaking about the euphemistic interpretation of a traditional literature which is strictly speaking devoid of any historical content whatever, observes: "We do not seem to say by this that there may not have taken place historical events analogous to those alluded in the Vedic 'myth'; on the contrary, we assume that history is always enacted in the pattern of the ultimate reality enunciated in the metaphysical tradition, or in Biblical phraseology, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets' (*ṛṣayah*). It may therefore be true that the metaphysical tradition itself can by a process of invention be emoloyed by the historian as source material, just as an iron may be used by the aesthete as a piece of bric-a-brac, or by the anthropologist for his own ends. In this sense, for example, we may be sure that the people who performed the Vedic ritual and chanted the *mantras* in their record form, actually possessed horses and chariots, had experience of the crossing seas and rivers, and tilled the soil." (*Ṛg-veda* as Land-Nama-Bok, Introduction P. VII).

N. Subbu Reddiar

THE VEDAS IN SANGAM LITERATURE

1. THE FRAME OF REFERENCE:

THIS paper has reference to the volume of Tamil Literature going by the name of 'Śaṅgam Literature.'[1] This name has a special connotation in terms of the chronology, social life and culture of the Tamils because there is a visible gap between this literature and later Tamil Literature. The style, the subject-matter, the social themes and the religious life that the Śaṅgam Literature describes are believed to have a distinctness in relation to the same aspects of later Tamil Literature. Tamil scholars have, therefore, accepted the name, if not for any other reason, at least for the reason that the works of the Śaṅgam collection constitute a compact grouping under a distinct name. This grouping has been rendered possible by the inventory of the Śaṅgam poets which Nakkīrar gives in his commentary to *Iraiyunār-Akapporul.*[2] As we are not concerned at the moment with the Śaṅgam legends or the date of Nakkīrar, and as Nakkīrar's inventory is a good enough starting point, we will be concerned only with the works of the authors in the inventory. May be, the whole problem of the Tamil Śaṅgam would need to be re-examined thoroughly; but our acceptance of the term Śaṅgam Literature to mean the body of works ascribed to the authors in Nakkīrar's inventory is for the convenience of limiting the scope of our investigation to what have generally been accepted as the earliest Tamil works extant. Moreover, this much could be said about them: They are certainly among the earliest Tamil works.

The date of the Śaṅgam or the Śaṅgams has, so far been, anybody's guess. The student of Tamil Literature and the historian of the Tamil country seem to take two different positions. While the enthusiastic, proud Tamil scholars would like to push the Śaṅgam far back to 1000 B.C., the cautious historian

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1. It consists of anthologies of short lyrics and longer poems. The eight collections go by the name of *Eṭṭu-t-tokai.* They are: (i) *Naṟṟiṇai* (ii) *Kuṟuntokai* (iii) *Aiṅkurunūṟu* (iv) *Patiṟṟu-p-pāṭṭu* (v) *Paripāṭal* (vi) *Kalittokai* (vii) *Akanāṉūṟu* (viii) *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. The longer poems the collections of which go by the name *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls') are (i) *Tirumuruk-āṟṟu-p-paṭai* (ii) *Poṟunarāṟṟu-paṭai* (iii) *Sirupāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (iv) *Perumpāṇāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (v) *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu* (vii) *Neṭunalvāṭai* (viii) *Kuṟiñci-p-pāṭṭu* (ix) *Paṭṭina-p-pālai* (x) *Malaipaṭu-kaṭām.*

2. According to the tradition embodied in the commentary of *Iraiyanār Akapporul,* the total number of poets of the Śaṅgam period comes to 449 (vide the commentary to *Sūtras* (no. 1.) But the Śaṅga Ilakkiyam (Samajam edition-1940) accounts for as many as 473. This aggregate excludes the anonymous authors of 88 poems (3 in *Akanāṉūṟu,* 10 in *Kuṟuntokai,* 56 in *Naṟṟiṇai,* 5 in *Patiṟṟup-pāṭṭu* and 14 in *Puranāṉūṟu*) and includes 35 poets who are named after some identifiable feature or expression in their poems.

would hesitate to accept anything earlier than the first century A.D. There is no doubt, that the Śaṅgam Literature is definitely anterior to the *Pallava* period and the age of the Ālvārs and the Nāyanmārs; and if we should accept the fifth century as the date for the beginning of the *Pallava* supremacy, the Śaṅgam works must be assigned to a pre-fifth century date. The Śaṅgam works speak of prosperous *Cola*, *Pāṇḍya* and *Cera* kingdoms. These must refer to the earlier *Colas*, *Pāṇḍyas* and *Ceras* who preceded the *Pallavas*. It may, therefore, be considered a safe assumption for purposes of this paper that the period which it covers is between the sixth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. accepting the extremes of serious historical research.

2. METHOD OF STUDY:

It is necessary to administer a caution before getting down to the subject proper. A superficial study of each one of the Śaṅgam works is bound to lead one to the conclusion that the work has no reference to Tamil life in its pristine purity. We shall show that this impression is not correct, but has been enforced by the ignorance of the right technique of studying ancient works. Many scholars, in spite of the profundity of their knowledge, have easily allowed themselves to be taken in by the first impression of their studies of ancient literature. To some, it has been a means of sustaining their own pet theories and prejudices. To some others, the lack of the knowledge of the technique of sifting the contact of the works has seriously affected the validity of their inferences.

3. A COMBINATION OF TWO LAYERS:

We have to keep in mind the following realities before beginning to assess any early work of literature:

(*a*) What is extant in early literature is only a small fraction of the quantity produced at various periods. In other words, what is extinct, in early literature, must have been many times more than what is extant.

(*b*) In the works which are available, at least, two layers have to be identified. One has reference to the life of the region to which the works belong without any dilution by an exotic cultural element. Another has reference to the exotic intrusions. Both the layers are often to be found within the same works.

(*c*) In the assessment of any ancient work of literature it is necessary, first of all, to separate what is indigenous culturally from what is exotic.[3]

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3. The *Tolkāppiyam* for instance presents both the layers. It is not difficult to identify the pure Tamil conventions from what may be considered as foreign elements. Tolkāppiyanār himself seems to have provided for the foreign elements. It is evident that from the days of Tolkāppiyanār it was not possible to maintain the pristine purity of Tamil because of the on-rush of outside influences. But it should be to the credit of the classical writers that they presented the pure aspects of Tamil life and culture while mentioning the new influences. The distinguishing mark of classical Tamil literature is that it is more Tamil than later day Tamil literature.

Applying the above to Tamil Literature, we realize that certain characteristics of ancient Tamil Literature render the indigenous and the exotic very difficult to be differentiated. Most of the Śaṅgam works are anthologies. These anthologies are collections of works and poems written in different periods by different authors. Among these, there are two types, broadly speaking. One is an unclassified random collection of works each of which is complete in itself, and the other, a collection of classified poems by diverse hands. An example of the first type is the *Pattu p-pāṭṭu* which contains ten minor works on ten different topics. Examples of the second type are the *Puranāṉūṟu*, and the *Akanāṉūṟu*. The *Puranāṉūṟu* containing four hundred verses is bound by the common theme of *puṟam* or human activities like war, administration, human relations, etc., which lie outside of intimate family life. But the verses are all disjointed. Each verse is self-contained by itself and does not necessarily lead to the next. The four-hundred *puṟam* verses contain both the pure indigenous culture of the Tamils and the exotic influences. Likewise, the *Akanāṉūṟu* must be viewed as a little encyclopædia of the love and the family life of the ancient Tamils in both the layers, indigenous and the exotic. The two layers are laid bare by the beautiful couplet:

'poyyum vaḷuyum toṉṟiya pinnar
ayyar yāthanar karaṇam enba[4]

Tolkāppiyanār refers to two practices—the indigenous and the exotic. The indigenous system of marriage was substituted by an exotic one because the former ceased to maintain its reputed high standard. '*ayyar yāthanar karaṇam*' is the reference to the foreign intrusion. Tamil marriage in its ideal form was not '*karaṇam*' but a simpler one involving adherence to the highest moral principles as an article of faith.

Applying the same principle to the other anthologies and the works of the Śaṅgam period, it should be possible to separate the pure indigenous from the exotic. But, as has been pointed out earlier, a number other factors make the separation some what difficult. The most important of these factors is the commentary written for each of the works. The commentaries were certainly produced long after the original works. By then, the social, political and cultural conditions had changed rapidly. The commentators no doubt achieved their very best, but they could not avoid projecting themselves into their commentaries. Whatever layer they are commenting on becomes complicated by their importing a third layer in their interpretation. Śāyaṇa of the Vijayanagar period presented comprehensive commentaries for all the *Vedas*. Scholars hailed them and continue to hail them as masterpieces. But no one can deny that with all the profundity and depth of scholarship which he possessed, the interpretation of all the Vedic rituals dealt with in the *Vedas* could not be taken to be accurate as he undertook this task several hundreds of years after the *Vedas* came into being and most of the Vedic rituals like

4. *Tolkāppiyam-Poruḷatikāram-Sūtram* 143 (*Iḷampūraṇam*). Vide also *Sūtra*-401 of *Čollatikāram* of the same work. This *sūtra* deals with words borrowed from Sanskrit.

Satras had ceased to be in practice by his time. In the same manner, the Tamil commentators to the Śaṅgam works could never take themselves back into the actual periods of the original compositions and could only explain ancient ideas with reference to their own understanding of them against their contemporary environment and background. They had very little regard for notions like chronology and never hesitated to make contemporaries of personages belonging to different epochs.[5] All these limitations and difficulties not withstanding, a good student of Tamil and South Indian history can separate the exotic elements from the indigenous. It may be found that most, if not all, of the Śaṅgam works appear deceptive in the sense that, to a superficial student, none of the works will appear to contain anything of Tamil life and culture in their pure indigenous forms. The occurrence of a large number of Sanskrit words, the references to episodes and anecdotes of Sanskrit Literature and the exotic nature of some of the themes themselves are likely to blind the casual studet to the indigenous layer. Each anthology of the Śaṅgam Literature has many chronologies. In this paper, if the accent is on the references to the *Vedas* in the Śaṅgam Literature, it is only by way of analysing the exotic element for a separate study. It should not be construed as a sustenance to the wrong notion, sometimes propagated, that the Tamils had no culture worth the name and only after the so-called Aryanisation of the South did the Tamils start a refined life. As this paper is presented, the author has the fond hope that some scholar may successfully analyse the indigenous element of Tamil culture from the material available and show that the Tamil Country had developed a distinctive culture and civilization of its own, prior to Aryanisation.

4. THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE VEDAS:

It may be asserted that there is not a single Śaṅgam work that does not mention the *Vedas* or the Vedic practices and concepts directly or indirectly. Quite a number of the works refer to the number of the *Vedas*. The *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, in verse number 2, mentions the number of the *Vedas* as four. This verse is panegyric on Ceramān Peruñcoṟṟu Utiyañ Ceralātan. Lines (17-20) of the verse which are relevant for our purpose can be translated as follows:

"Even if milk should lose its sweetness and become sour, even if the sun should lose its light, and become dark, even if the moral code with *four Vedas* should change, may you, consistent and clever in statecraft, live gloriously with your ministers and next of kin for a long time.'

In verse number 6 there is reference to '*nānmaṟai*.' In verse number 15 again the number of the Vedas has been mentioned with an attribute- "the good and faultless scripture," the four *Vedas*." In verse number 166, the number four as referring to the *Vedas* is mentioned as 'twice two.'

5. Most commentators seem to project themselves and their age in their commentaries, oblivious to the real age of the works they are commenting upon.

In the *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu*, in the work *Maturai-k-kāñci* in line 468, there is mention of the 'best *Vedas*.' The commentator Naccinār-k-kiniyar explains this line as the three *Vedas* excluding the *Atharvaṇa-Veda* which was not given the same status as the other three *Vedas*, as its subject was more this-worldly than other-worldly.

Apart from these specific references to the number of the *Vedas*, it is found that many of the poets of early Tamil Literature were aware of the number of the *Vedas*, though their names are not mentioned by them. Those at least who have mentioned the number of the *Vedas* or the *Vedas* in general terms must have been aware of at least the names of the *Vedas* if not their actual contents. The commentators[6] on these seem to revel in their intimate knowledge of the *Vedas*. The commentaries contain the names, *Ṛk*, *Yajus*, *Sāma* and *Atharvaṇa*. Many of the commentators were Sanskrit scholars of no mean repute and not a few of them were steeped in the Vedic wisdom.

5. SACRIFICES:

The concept of sacrifice was not exotic to the Tamil country. The references to *yāgas* may indicate only the Aryanised forms of sacrifice that either substituted or coexisted with the indigenous form. The Tamil term '*veḷvi*' is a pure one and is not derived from Sanskrit. It may be stated almost as an axiom of linguistics that the first incentive for borrowing from another language is furnished by need. The need arises when an object or a practice or an idea is exotic to the experience of one's culture, but has invaded the culture and seeks to get integrated into it. Quite a number of Sanskrit terms had to be accepted as the inevitable consequence of the irresistable Aryanisation of the South; and the Tamils, instead of coining new words for new concepts and ideas, accepted the Sanskrit terms purely as a matter of convenience.

Only three interpretations are possible to explain the availability of pure Tamil word for a particular concept and also its Sanskrit equivalent, both being interspersed in early Tamil works. The concept itself was nothing new to the Tamils, and it had been an integral part of their indigenous culture. Another is that the pure Tamil word referred to the Tamil way of understanding the concept and the Sanskrit equivalent to the Aryan interpretation of the concept. A third is that both the terms were used alternatively to mean the same. Taking the term '*veḷvi*' we have to see in it a pure Tamil practice that was later supplemented and possible not completely supplanted by the Aryan term. Let us go into a little detail.

Tamil works of the earlier period speak of two types of sacrifices referred to by the general term '*veḷvi*.' The two types are '*Aṛakkaḷa-Veḷvi*' and '*Marakkaḷa-Veḷvi*.' The former category must have had reference to sacrifices by way of propitiating the higher powers. Perhaps the Tamils had

6. The commentator on *Puranānūru* may be cited here. Others like Parimelaḷakar Cenāvaraiyar and Perāśiriyar were scholars in Sanskrit also.

a simpler, less ritualistic form of *yāgas* than the Āryans. Wars constituted the '*Marakkaḷa-Veḷvi*' It is by way of a literary development of this idea that, perhaps we have the *Paraṇi* type of literature at a later period. Though this type of literature was born in the heyday of the Āryanisation of the Tamil country, the form and the idea were essentially Tamil. One could suspect that the *Paraṇi* was the poetic vision of the Tamil '*Marakkala-Velvi*' represented not as a naked war but as a sacrifice in itself. That may be the reason why we have no parallel to the *Paraṇi* composition in any other literature of the world. The term '*veḷvi*' used may be taken to suggest that the martial spirit of the ancient Tamils was given the high status of a sacred rite.

The Aryanisation of the Tamil Country implied a clash, at first, between the indigenous form and the exotic, and later a reconciliation arrived at by both the forms coexisting. Over-Aryanised or indoctrinated Tamil chieftains possibly took a fancy to the exotic system for its novelty. The unsophisticated sections conformed to the older system. References to both are innumerable in the Tamil classics. It is now our business to identify and locate the exotic system as germane to our present study.

A number of interesting details about Vedic sacrifices are available in Śaṅgam Literature. Quite a number of Vedic sacrifices were performed in the Tamil Country even long after they had ceased to be practised in Northern India. Some of the early Tamil rulers prided themselves in having prefixes to their names that refer to their having performed one or the other of the sacrifices. One *Pāṇḍyan* king is known as '*Palyāgasālai Mutukuṭumi Peruvaḷuthi.*' A *Cola* king is called '*Rājasūyam Veṭṭa Perunar-kiḷḷi*' or '*Perunar-kiḷḷi* who performed the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.' Pāṇḍyan Neḍuñceḷiyan is credited with having performed Vedic sacrifices under the guidance of the Brahmins. Nalankiḷḷi and Kāri are also mentioned among the Tamil rulers that patronised Brahminism and performed sacrifices.[7] The other sacrifices possibly performed by the early Tamil kings are the '*Soma yāga*' and the '*Aśvamedha yāga*'. The '*Aśvamedha*' had reference to the sovereignty of the king performing it and though it is not described directly in any Tamil work, the Tamil rulers must have certainly understood the purpose of the sacrifice and the honour of being a performer of the *Aśvamedha sacrifice.*

In verse number 166 of the *Puṟanānūru* the number of sacrifices is mentioned as twenty-one and in explanation of this number the commentary lists the following sacrifices: (*a*) Seven types of *Soma-yajñas* (*b*) Seven types of *Havir-yajñas* and (*c*) Seven types of *Pāka-yajñas.* The seven *Soma-yajñas* are: *Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra,* and *Āptoryāma.* The seven *Havir-yajñas* are: *Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa, Āgrayaṇa, Cāturmāsya, Nirūḍha-paśubandha* and *Sautrāmaṇi.* The seven *Pāka-yajñas* are: *Aṣṭakā, Pārvaṇasthālīpāka, Śrāddha, Śrāvaṇī, Āgrahāyaṇī, Caitrī,* and *Āśvayujī.*

7. Srinivasa Iyengar, P.T.: *The History of the Tamils* p.p. 470-475

Though the list of names is furnished by a later commentator, the author of the verse Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār must be regarded as referring to only these twenty-one *yāgas* in his summation. Many of the *yāgas* must have been performed at the time the poet composed the verse. It may be stated in a general way that after the processes of Āryanisation had started in the Tamil Country the *yāgas* were popularised among the chiefs of Tamil Country.

Quite a number of interesting details relating to the performance of sacrifices can also be located in Śaṅgam Literature. The construction of *yāgaśālās* attributed to a number of Tamil kings was according to the Vedic specifications. Materials like *kuśa (darbha)*, *samit* (faggot), fried rice, and the *paśu* or the animal to be sacrificed are mentioned in a number of textual situations.[8] The sacrificial fire is also mentioned. In the *Tirumu-rukāṟṟu-p-paṭai*, there is reference to the three Vedic fires—*Āhavanīya*, *Dakṣiṇa* and *Gārhapatīyaa.* A few verses actually describe some of the details of the sacrifices themselves.

In verse number 15 of *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, there is the following description: "Are the *yāgaśālās* with the *yūpasthambhās* greater in number-*yāgaśālas* in which *yāgas* prescribed by the good and faultless *Vedas* in which the smoke rose up under the provocation of large quantities of ghee poured into the sacrificial fire were performed by you?." The poet compares the achievement of the patron on the battle-field and on the hallow sacrificial sites. A verse in *Paripātal*[9] gives the following account of

(i) each Vedic sacrifice required a presiding god;

(ii) it required *paśus* or the animals to be sacrificed (goats); and

(iii) the sacrificial fire was big and rose to a great height.

6. VEDIC GODS:

Most of the Vedic gods are mentioned by name in the Śaṅgam classics. Indra appears to have dominated in the South in the new Aryan divine hagiology for some time until the Siva and Viṣṇu cults took over. The *Tolkāppiyam* reference to *Vendan* in *Sūtra* number 5 of *Poruḷatikāram* is interpreted as Indra, the king *par excellence.* This work, reputed to be the earliest Tamil work extant, makes Indra, the god of '*Marudam.*'[10] There is no doubt

8. Cf. *Puranānūru*—Verses Nos. 2 and 15.

9. Verse. No. 2 lines (60-70).

10. Lines (1-4):
Māyon meya kāṭurai ulakamum
Śeyon meya maivarai ulakamum
Ventan meya tīmpunal ulakamum
Varuṇan meya perumaṇal ulakamum.

The ancient Tamils divided the lands into four regions *viz.*, *mullai* or the pastoral part, *kuriñji* or the hilly part, *marutam* or the agricultural part and *neytal* or the littoral part. Each division in the Tamil land had its own presiding deity; for instance, Māyon belonged to the *mullai* tract. Ċeyon or Murukan to the hilly tract, Ventan or Indra to the *marutam* tract and Varuṇa to the *neytal* region.

that the Indra of Tamil Literature is a gift of the *Vedas* to the Tamils. The Tamils had probably their own divine hagiology; and until contradicted, Muruga may be considered a Tamil creation. The confusion about Muruga arises from the development of the cult, possibly at a later time, into the *Subrahmanya* cult. In Literature, while giving glimpses into the pure *Muruga* cult in which Muruga is Muruga, the Tamil god highlights Muruga the metamorphosed Subrahmaṇya. It will be worthwhile to identify and reconstitute the pure Tamil hagiology. But within the mass of information which the classics contain, it is more easy to identify the Aryan gods than the Tamil gods, because the process of Aryanisation became complete even so early as two thousand years ago. Tamil customs and practices were modified or rendered obsolete by the overwhelming Aryan forces.

Indra is the chief god of the *Vedas*. In the *Vedas*, he is the god of the gods. Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā have no importance in the Vedas. The trinity assumed importance only in the later period with the development of the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas*. It is a shrewd guess that when the Aryanisation of the Tamil country started, the trinity had just then attained some vogue but the Vedic gods were still dominant. The references to Viṣṇu either as '*Māyon*' or as '*Tirumāl*' or as one of His manifestations and the reference to Śiva as '*Śivaperumān*' must be attributed to the post-Aryan period of the South. However, it will be interesting to go into the origins of the Tamil Viṣṇu and Tamil Śiva to be sure whether they were not merely North Indian importations or whether they were Tamil gods given the names of Viṣṇu and Śiva after the Aryanisation and merged with the Āryan concepts of Viṣṇu and Siva. '*Māyon*' and '*Māl*' are beautiful Tamil words not to be derived from the Sanskrit roots but to be considered the name of a Tamil god, later merged into the Aryan Viṣṇu in the same manner as Muruga got merged into Subrahmaṇya. '*Māyon*' if proved to be an earlier Tamil version of Viṣṇu easily converted into the Āryan Viṣṇu later and if Muruga can be resuscitated from the mass of details mixing up Muruga and Subrahmaṇya, then we have at least two indigenous Tamil gods, that along with their worshippers became converts to the Āryan cult. The above reflections must be however sustained and borne out by a detailed and scientific study of both the layers in classical Tamil literature—the indigenous and the exotic.

With the impact of Aryanisation becoming pronounced, the Vedic hagiology was accepted in toto. Indra headed the list of gods. Naturally, early Tamil literature is replete with Indra stories. Perhaps there existed temples for Indra.

Among the Indra stories preserved in classical Tamil Literature is the well-known Indra-Ahalyā romance culminating in both the erring lovers being cursed by Gautama.[11] Another Indra story relates to Vinatā the mother of Garuḍa getting into captivity under Kadrū as a result of a foolish wager

11. *Paripāṭal*—Verse 19 line 50.

that the tail of the Indra's horse was white. Kadrū, to spite Vinatā, changed the colour of the tail into black. However, the redemption from the captivity could be had by Vinatā getting the *amṛta* which Indra had kept in Amarāvatī. Vinatā procured the *amṛta* through her son Garuḍa, and got her release.[12] A third story relates to Indra protecting the Himalayas.[13] In another rather fantastic reference to Indra in the *Paripāṭal*,[14] the details of which are not given here, Indra's *vajra* is mentioned as the origin of Subrahmaṇya. Indra is described as the possessor of a great bow and the *vajra*.

One of the temples of Indra was possibly located in Kāviri-p-pūmpaṭṭinam which was the centre of great festivities. A number of other Indra temples may have existed, because it looks as if the Indra festival had become one of the universal festivals of the Tamils during the post-Aryan period. The *Cilappadikāram*, though not acknowledged as a Śaṅgam work but with every right to be considered of as much antiquity as many of the works, (*e.g. Pattup-pāṭṭu*) gives a detailed description of the Indra festival of the Tamils.[15] Among the Āryans of the North, Indra was a Vedic deity to whom many of the Vedic hymns were addressed. One wonders whether Indra was idolised and worshipped in temples as a deity of a separate cult in Northern India. The Tamil mind evolved a worshippable god out of Indra for more popular purposes than the Northern Āryans. In other words, Indra belonged to the masses in the Tamil Country as the recipient of worship, prayers, praises and songs and the centre of feasts and festivals. The North Indian Indra does not appear to have walked out of the pages of the *Vedas*, nor out of the *yāgaśālās* of Brahmins and kings and mixed with the common folks.

The other gods of the *Vedas* like Varuṇa, Yama, Agni and Soma also occur in classical Tamil Literature, though not with that importance given to Indra. The *Tolkāppiyam* calls Varuṇa the god of the sea.[16] Varuṇa as the god responsible for rain is implied in a number of contexts. The Varuṇa of the Tamils was the same as the Varuṇa of the North Indians.

Indra, Yama, Agni and Soma are referred to as '*Nārperum Deyvam*' by the author of the *Tirumurukārru-p-paṭai*.[17] The concept of Yama as the impartial dealer of justice was also very well-known to the Tamils. The other name for Yama in early Tamil literature was '*aruman*' sometimes confused with the owner of the same name among the five Pāṇḍavas. Some scholars equate Yama and Kūṟṟam as a Tamil synonym for the Sanskrit *Yama*. The commentator Parimelalakar warns us against the mistake of considering both the terms identical. He says that these two have two different

12. ibid. — Verse 3.
13. ibid. — Verse 9.
14. ibid. — Verse 9.
15. *Čilappatikāram*—Canto V.
16. *Tolkāppiyam Porulatikāram—Sūtra—5.*
17. *Tirumurukaṟṟ-p-paṭai* Line 160.

meanings, Yama, meaning the god of Death and Kūṟṟam, his messengers or *kiṅkaras*.[18]

Devas and Asuras:

The Vedic Devas and Asuras figure in the Tamil classics rather prominently. The characteristics of the Devas and the Asuras which can be gleaned from the *Vedas* are impressed upon us by Tamil Literature. The Devas are *sāttvika*, just and non-interfering. They are for the stability of *Dharma* or righteousness. The Asuras are their opposite. They are destructive, wantonly cruel and against any worthwhile deed. In a sense, they are anti-social and anarchical.

The Devas are sometimes referred to as '*Amarar*.'[19] The Tamils knew the practice of maintaining the three fires, one of which was for making offerings to the Devas.

As regards the Asuras, they are condemned for their satanic pleasure in spoiling sacrifices performed by the Brahmins. In the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*[20] there is a story of the Asuras running away with the Sun.

The story of the churning of the ocean by Devas and Asuras appears to have caught the imagination of the Tamils. It occurs in a number of places.[21]

The Sun and the Moon:

Another Vedic influence that shows up in Tamil Literature is that relating to the Sun and the Moon. One need not labour unnecessarily any theory that would make the Sun and the Moon cults in the Tamil Country the gifts of the Āryans. Both are natural phenomena of daily occurrence and an attention to both in wonder, awe and reverence was paid even by the most primitive societies. The Tamils might have advanced even many steps farther than the Vedic Aryans in their development of the Sun and the Moon cults. Tamil life was simple and much of it was lived in open air and not a small number of the *Aham* poems refer to the Sun and the Moon as factors influencing the upsurge of the emotions of the lovers. In fact, the treatment of the seasons is inextricably connected with the psychology of love. The Tamil maiden had the custom of worshipping the crescent moon (*Pirai-Tolutal*).[22]

Thus, the Sun and the Moon cults may have existed in a perfected form before the Aryanisation. What we may therefore indicate here is that the Sun cult was further developed to the extent of separate temples being built for the Sun. The status of a god was attained by the Sun and invocations

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18. *Paripāṭal*-Verse No. 3. (commentary).
19. *Puranānūru* Verse Nos: 38, 55, 62, 99 etc.
20. ibid.—Verse 174.
21. *Puram*-Verse Nos. 182, 392.
22. *Kuruntokai*-Verse No. 307.

to the Sun god were not uncommon. The *Śilappatikāram* which evidently continued an earlier practice begins with an invocation to the Sun, the Moon and the god of rain.

Other Vedic Ideas:

The idea of *Ṛṣi* or the performer of penance was among the other ideas that the Tamils appear to have accepted with enthusiasm. The Tamils welcomed the idea of detachment as found in the *Vedas* and the *Ṛṣis* that the *Vedas* speak of as the embodiment of action in detachment must have evoked admiration among the Tamils. It seems to be a fact that the Tamils accepted only '*satva*' among the three '*guṇas*.' If the Tamil people should be appropriately characterized with a Sanskrit term, that term is '*satva*' (non-interfering, soft, gentle, human, humane and refined); '*rajas*' and '*tamas*' they abhorred. Naturally the *Ṛṣi* who embodied '*satva*' had an appeal to the Tamil mind. Literature refers to them as '*Iruḍigal*.' The names of some of the *Ṛṣis* may be identified in the pages of the ancient classics. Without pretending to be final and conclusive one could consider Agastya a name that became very famous in Tamil literature as a descendent of the Agastya known to the *Vedas*.[23] Gautama and Viśvāmitra are definitely known to have had popularity in the South along with Agastya. Viśvāmitra the *Ṛṣi* of the *Gāyatrī-mantra* according to some scholars was exiled to the southern region. Sometimes, credit is given to Viśvāmitra for having aryanised the South. The sons of Viśvāmitra are stated to have married Tamil wives.[24] Gautama the husband of Ahalyā figures in quite a number of contexts.[25]

The idea of renunciation which the *Ṛṣis* embodied was very much developed in the Tamil Country in later times. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has a whole chapter on

23. "The successive stages in the development of Agastya legend may be clearly seen from a study in the order of the *Ṛg Veda*, the *Atharvaṇa Veda*, the *Bṛhad-devatā*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and of the *Matsya-purāṇa*. Perhaps, the spread of Brahminism in the South by a descendant of the Vedic Agastya may be the basis of these

The legends about Agastya in Tamil literature partly carry on the Northern fables with embellishments and partly keep a more human standard. A work on Tamil grammar is attributed to him and he is said to be the father of Tamil. Agastya is a hallowed name in the Tamil Country held in reverence more by his legendary deeds than by any solid achievements literary or otherwise."

Vaiyapuri Pillai: *History of Tamil Language and Literature*—p.p. 64,65.

24. 'Viśvāmitra the Ṛṣi of the *Gāyatrī-mantra* rescued his grand nephew Śunaḥ-śepha from being sacrificed by Hariścandra's son Rohita. Viśvāmitra's fifty sons protested against this act and also against their father giving Śunaḥ-śepha a position superior to theirs in the family. The Ṛṣi in his anger cursed his sons to become un-aryans. The theory is that the Dasyus of the South were descended from the exiled sons of Visvāmitra,—Srinivasa Iyengar: *History of the Tamils* pp. 19, 20, 31, 49, 59.

25. *Paripāṭal*—Verse 19—lines (50-55).

the greatness of those that practice renunciation (*Nittār Perumai*).[26] The *kuṟals* relating to the '*Nittār*' cannot fail to remind one of the Vedic *Ṛṣis*.

7. THE VEDIC INFLUENCES:

(*a*) *The caste system:* There is plenty of controversy over the caste-system of Northern India. A few scholars would say that the caste-system originated in the Rig-Vedic period. But the consensus of opinion is that it is post-Rig-Vedic. So far as the Tamil country was concerned, the caste system introduced and accepted as an inevitable corollary to Aryanisation. The Tamil language itself appears to have received no small contribution from the Brahmin *Agastya* who codified the existing material and also presented the authoritative grammar. The question of the caste-system in the early Tamil country bristles with real difficulties. Was the caste-system planted in the Tamil country by an overwhelming horde of Āryans by coercion? Or did the caste-system emerge as a convenient social grouping in the Tamil country as it did in the North? Or did only a few Brahmins migrate to the Tamil Country, before it built up its own separate Brahmin society with this small number as the nucleus? These are questions that can never receive a final answer. If the Brahmins alone had migrated from the North to the South, does it mean that the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, and the fourth caste were constituted from the local Tamil population? Or like the Brahmins, did the other three castes also migrate from the North to the South as an Āryan body? It is best not to enter into the investigation of these problems; but there is no doubt that the four castes existed during the classical period in the Tamil Country. Tolkāppiyanār mentions the four castes specifically. Perhaps, it is true that there are few works in Tamil which do not contain references to the four castes.

There are two ways of tentatively looking at the caste-system in the Tamil country, with the basic unassailable truth that it was a product of Aryanisation. One is to imagine that the idea of caste alone was borrowed from the migrating Āryans and the caste-system took shape among the local population into which the migrating element got merged. Another is to suppose that the first three castes consisted of immigrants from the North and the fourth caste was made up of the agriculturists of the Tamil country. The Śūdra of the North Indian caste-system was a servant of the other castes. The Tamils considered no one so lowly as to be condemned to menial service. Moreover, the caste-system of the South though based on the North Indian system was more democratic; and it was work and not birth that was considered the basis of a person's prestige. Among the poets, we find members of all the castes and there is nothing of the *Kūḍas* of Brahminism in the writings of Brahmin poets to distinguish them from the poets of the other castes. The themes are all of the common folk whether handled by Brahmin poets or poets of the other castes.

26. *Tirukkuṟal*—Chapter 4.

The simple social arrangement which the Tamils assimilated into their social structure degenerated into a jungle of social overgrowths that today it is almost impossible to count the number of castes among the Tamils. That has been the story of the North Indian caste system also.

(*b*) *Influence on literary composition:* The *Vedas* were pure knowledge and not easily assimilable by the common mind. Naturally, the *Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads* came as justifiable vehicles of amplifying the Vedic truths. But even these became hard stuff and the *Itihāsas* seemed to supply a real need in the spiritual education of the masses. Tamil poetry had never been godless in the earliest period, but the theme was ever purely spiritual. This I am able to locate among what I have indicated earlier as the indigenous facets of Tamil life. Unless whole works on gods and angels had disappeared, we are on fairly firm ground when we want to assert that the spiritual themes were outside of the ken of the earliest Tamil poetry. The Aryanisation implied emphasis of the spiritual aspects to a perceptible degree. By the time the Aryan influence spread into the South, the *Upaniṣads* and the epics had been composed and had become popular in Northern India. The epics were looked upon as *upabṛhmaṇas* magnifying the truths imbedded in the *Vedas*. With the spread of the Vedic influence in the South, naturally the *Upaniṣads* and the epics also gained currency in the South. While no Tamil version of the *Vedas* could be attempted for obvious reason, the works believed to elaborate the Vedic truths were rendered into Tamil by Tamil poets. We have evidence of a Tamil *Rāmāyaṇam* belonging to the classical period of many centuries older in point of time than the *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam*.[27] Whether there really was a *Rāmāyaṇam* in Tamil or not in the classical period, the *Rāmāyaṇa* story was most popular with the masses. As for the *Bhārata* story at least, one *Bhāratam* of the classical period is known to us, written by Peruntevanār. The surmise is not far-fetched that there were a few more *Bhāratams* in Tamil.

Purely spiritual or religious themes began to be handled by poets after the Aryanisation. Examples are *Paripāṭal*, and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.

Possibly by the time the Pallavas secured ascendancy over the South, the Tamil country had accepted the *Vedas* as its scripture. But it was only the Brahmins that studied these works and the other castes followed the regulations laid down on the basis of the *Vedas*. It is not to suggest that they gave up their own customs, practices and beliefs in toto. Much of what constituted the essence of the new life had already been developed independently and lived by the Tamils and the adjustment they had to make was not difficult. The only controversial element was the performance of the sacrifices, and, thanks to the intensive campaigns of the Jains and the Buddhists, sacrifices

27. This surmise is not only borne out by the large number of references to the *Rāmāyaṇa*-incidents in the Śaṅgam classics, but also by the general belief among the scholars that the *Rāmāyaṇa* story had been handled by many poets before Kambar who eventually emerged as the Tamil *Rāmāyaṇam*-poet *par excellence*.

had almost disappeared in Northern India by the time the Aryan influence penetrated the South. Even in the South, while sacrifices were no doubt performed by kings they were never part of the life led by the common people. Sacrifices were costly affairs and kings performed them for their publicity value, possibly also for what they believed to be the true purposes of such practices.

That the *Vedas* had secured ascendancy in the South can be proved in many ways. The glory of the *Tirukkuṛal* was according to many of the contemporary poets the '*Tamil Maṛai.*'[28] Without entering into any controversy about the *Kuṛaḷ*, it may be safely asserted that it synthesized the indigenous and the exotic elements of Tamil culture on the true foundation of Tamil ideas and beliefs. The later Nāyanmārs and Āḷvārs are content to describe their compositions as Tamil expositions of Vedic truths.

8. CONCLUSION:

What did the Aryanisation mean to the Tamil Country? No doubt, it gave the caste-system, the *Vedas*, the North Indian gods and the Sanskrit language. Emotionally, it meant very little. For one thing the Aryanisation of the Tamils was not the same as civilising a primitive people. There was already a culture that was nothing inferior to the new culture. Long before the Aryanisation, the Tamils had developed a great culture that possibly started getting spread out until the Aryan culture appeared as its rival. The Dravidian influence is seen in dozens of Indian dialects and languages. The geographical conspectus of the Dravidian influence includes the whole of the region south of the Vindhyas, parts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and Baluchistan.[29] Therefore, when the Aryan influence came into the Tamil Country it was not grabbed as something spectacular. The Tamils found that many of the ingredients of the Aryan culture were in tune with their own culture, and therefore, accepted them. The Tamil mind had always the genius of assimilating the best of other cultures. Aryanisation was not a cultural invasion of the Tamil but a cultural assimilation of what was agreeable in the foreign culture by the Tamils. At the same time the Tamils were able to maintain their cultural identity throughout. It should be the business of future Tamil research to identify the pure ingredients of Tamil culture to show that they were nothing inferior to any culture which the Tamils willingly assimilated.

28. *Tiruvaḷḷuva-mālai*—Verse Nos.: 2, 4, 15, 18, 24, 32, 37, 42, 43 and 44.

29. Vaiyapuri Pillai: *History of Tamil Language and Literature*—P. 1.

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A BRIEF REPORT OF THE SEMINAR

THE Veda Samīkṣā, a Seminar on the *Vedas*, and the third of its kind under the auspices of the Department of Sanskrit, took place on the 8th, 9th and 10th .of February, 1964, in the Senate hall of the Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. Delegates from the affiliated colleges mentioned below took part in the Seminar.

Government Arts College, Anantapur,

V. R. College, Nellore,

Sri Venkateswara Arts College, Tirupati, and

Sri Padmavati Women's College, Tirupati.

One noteworthy feature, which marked this Seminar, is that scholars from the Andhra, Madras, Kerala and Mysore States were invited to participate.

The Seminar was inaugurated on the 8th instant in the forenoon by Prof. Dr. K. Pampapathi Rao, Principal, Sri Venkateswara University College. Maharshi Daivarata Sarma presided over the occasion.

The afternoon session on the same day was presided over by Maharshi Daivarata Sarma. Panditaraja Sri D. T. Tatacharya, Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, Pandit C. Ramachandracharya, Pandit M. Ramanatha Dikshitar, Dr. V. Subba Rao and Srimati Brinda Varadarajan presented their papers.

The morning session on the 9th instant was presided over by Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran, when Dr. P. Nagaraja Rao, Pandit Venkatarama Sarma, Sri M. D. Balasubramanyam, Pandit Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya, and Dr. V. Varadachari presented their papers.

The afternoon session on the same day was presided over by Panditaraja D. T. Tatacharya. Sri D. Arkasomayaji, Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Dr. B. R. Sharma and Sri T. K. Gopalaswamy Aiyengar read their papers.

During the forenoon session on the 10th instant, under the presidentship of Pandit Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya, Sri M. S. Prakasa Rao, Sri N. Subbu Reddiar, Sri R. Suryaprakasa Sastri, Pandit V. Jagadiswara Sastri and Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastri read their papers.

The concluding session in the afternoon of the same day was preside over by Dr. B. R. Sharma. Pandit P. B. Annangaracharya, Sri N. C. Rajagopalacharya, Sri E. Anantacharya, Dr. V. R. Krishnan, Sri S. Bhaskara Rao, Pandit V. Venkatarama Sarma, Pandit R. Krishnaswamy Ghanapathi and Kumari P. Prabhavati read their papers.

The papers of Sri Ambubai Purani and Sri Ittiravi Nambutiri were not read.

The *Ṛgveda* recitals were done by Sri P. R. Neelakanthan Nambutiri, Sri Godavarti Venkatanarasavadhani and Sri R. Venkataramanachar. The recitation of the *Śukla-yajurveda* was done by Pandit V. Jagadiswara Sastri and the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda* was recited by Pandit Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya, Sri R. Krishnaswamy Ghanapathi and Sri M. V. Ramanatha Ghanapathi. Pandit M. Ramanatha Dikshitar and Srimati Brinda Varadarajan gave recitals from the *Sāmaveda* of the *Kauthuma* recension while Sri Ittiravi Nambutiri gave the recital according to the *Jaiminīya* recension of the *Sāmaveda.*

In connection with this Seminar, an exhibition was arranged where manuscripts and books on the *Vedas,* which contained the oldest editions, translations in western and Indian languages and criticisms were exhibited.

Arrangements were made to take the delegates and participants to the Tirumala Hills for *darshan* of Lord Venkateswara.